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THE DIALECTS OF CENTRAL ITALY

BY
HERBERT H. VAUGHAN, PH.D.
University of Pennsylvania

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To

JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN

THIS MONOGRAPH

**IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED AS A
MODEST TOKEN OF GRATITUDE FOR HIS CONSTANT AND GENEROUS
DEVOTION TO THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
AND ESPECIALLY TO THE ADVANCEMENT
OF MODERN LANGUAGE STUDIES**

PREFACE.

THE purpose of this study is not a minute examination of all the dialects in the territory indicated. If such were the case the work, instead of being in one small volume, would cover many and instead of being published after a few years of investigation, it would require a lifetime for its completion. The writer will be content if he succeeds in giving the reader a general idea of the dialectic peculiarities to be found in Central Italy and if with the information herein contained, the reader may be enabled to identify a given text or a given pronunciation as coming from a certain province. For this purpose a treatment of phonological phenomena is sufficient and the writer does not attempt to deal with dialectic vocabularies which would necessarily be incomplete and unsatisfactory. It would indeed be unwise for a foreigner to attempt such a task.

Many of the Central Italian and Abruzzese dialects have been ably treated by the scholars best fitted to write of them, that is, by natives of that territory. The information contained in these studies has been freely used. In cases where the author considered the development noted to be extraordinary he has gone personally to verify it, but generally he might have dispensed with so doing, for the work had been excellently done. The list of articles used will be found in the bibliography appended to this preface.

In order to retain as nearly as possible the orthography of the dialect literature it has been deemed advisable not to attempt to use a phonetic alphabet. The words are to be pronounced according to Italian standards of pronunciation. In the article on Tuscan, however, H, a simple aspirate (cf. English H) is differentiated from the harsh velar Ĥ (cf.

German CH). In the chapters on Abruzzese and Neapolitan open E and O are indicated by the grave accent (̀) and close E and O by the acute (́). Where no accent is given the pronunciation of the accented vowel has been noted to vary between open and close. Close A, where it occurs is indicated by Å. Palatal S is shown by Š. Indistinct vowels are shown as A, E, I, O, U.

The writer gratefully acknowledges the valuable suggestions offered by Professors E. S. Sheldon, J. D. M. Ford, and C. H. Grandgent of Harvard, Professor Raymond Weeks of Columbia, and Professors H. A. Rennert and J. P. Wickersham Crawford of Pennsylvania.

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In addition to the above-mentioned articles and volumes, more than a hundred collections of dialectic poems have been studied.

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INTRODUCTION.

DIALECTS OF CENTRAL ITALY.

ONE of the most interesting fields for dialect study to-day is that offered by Central Italy. Here we can study the phonological developments with a fair degree of accuracy and certainty, starting with a well-established pronunciation of the Latin of Imperial times, and whenever and wherever foreign influence makes itself felt, we know its date and its extent.

There are many factors in dialect development, the most important being racial. When Latin was learned by the Goth or the Lombard, we should hardly expect him to speak it with a Ciceronian accent, but rather that he should preserve some of the tendencies of the Germanic languages in his speech. Even phonetic laws of development may be transferred locally from one language to another in this way. It would not be surprising then that the main dialect divisions of our territory should be determined by such foreign influence.

When the Germanic tribes came into Italy, the first important barrier to their progress that they found was the main chain of the Apennines, stretching across the peninsula from the Mediterranean nearly to the Adriatic. This range sharply divides the Northern from the Central Italian dialects.

Once in Tuscany, their advance to the South as far as Rome and the Alban Hills was unimpeded, but their progress towards the East and Southeast was again stopped by the mountains on the frontier of the Abruzzi. This barrier marks the dividing line between Central Italian and the Neapolitan group of dialects.

Roughly speaking, our territory is thus divided into two parts, Central Italian, which includes Tuscany, Umbria, Latium, and the Marches of Pesaro and Ancona, and Neapolitan, which includes the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Chieti, Teramo, and the Marches of Ascoli and Macerata.

But the Neapolitan territory should again be divided and the reason for this subdivision is chronologically anterior to that for the division into Central Italian and Neapolitan. In pre-Latin times Oscan was the speech of this territory, the Oscan itself being more or less divided into dialects. When Rome gained the supremacy, it forced the Latin language upon the rest of Italy so that most of the Italian tribes spoke it fairly well; but the savage and mountainous country of the Abruzzi was never fully romanized and its inhabitants spoke a Latin which is described to us as being crude and barbarous. On the other hand Terra di Lavoro and Naples were completely latinized and Naples itself was a centre of culture second only to Rome. Thus we have three important dialect divisions, Central Italian, Neapolitan, and Abruzzese.

Literature, both popular and learned, is an important leveling influence in language development. Dante so crystalized the literary Tuscan that since his time it has changed less than French since the time of Rabelais. The educated Neapolitan or the educated Abruzzese reads his Dante and other works of Italian literature, learns Italian, and when he speaks his dialect he carries over words and expressions from the literary language. Thus we may expect to find Tuscan borrowings in all the dialects.

But Neapolitan also has its literature which, although not so rich as the Tuscan, is extremely popular. Consequently, we are not surprised to note its influence upon other dialects, especially in Molise and the Abruzzi which were for so long a time under the political control of Naples.

In some parts of the territory, classical learning is of importance as a retarding influence in the development of the dialect, since consciousness of the Latin form may serve to

check the normal phonetic development. Naturally the districts in which this occurs are usually very small and frequently present two strata of words: patrician (which show the retarding influence of the Classical form) and plebeian (which usually show normal phonetic development and which represent the vocabulary of the lower classes). Frequently we find patrician and plebeian forms existing side by side, sometimes with the same meaning, sometimes differentiated in meaning.

(Neap. FRATO (patrician), SCIATO (plebeian), fiato; PREBBA (patrician), bassa gente, CHIEVE (plebeian), commune, comunità (Lat. plebem).

The most important places in which Classical influence is to be noted are Cortona (Upper town), Assisi, Chieti, Cassino, and Naples (especially the *sezioni* of Chiaja, San Giuseppe, and Porta Capuana).

In Cortona, Assisi, Chieti, and Cassino the Classical influence was due to the monasteries. Consequently it was more or less restricted to the dependencies of those institutions and made itself felt only in vocabulary. In Naples, however, it was quite different. Here Classical learning had never completely died out and we even find a retention of the old "quantitative accent" or vowel quantity of the Classic Latin. Then, as Neapolitan became a language of considerable literary importance, many of its patrician words were borrowed by other dialects, especially within the Kingdom of Naples. We may even suppose in our study of the dialects of the Abruzzi and Molise that the Neapolitan system of accentuation was for some time prevalent throughout the major part of the territory, for otherwise it would be very difficult to explain many of the regular phonetic developments in these regions.

There is perhaps no more fundamental determinant in the development of a language than its accent. The development of every sound in a language is directly dependent upon the force expended in pronouncing it and the time employed in doing so. Generally speaking, when no strong stress is

used the flow of language will be softer and more even, the explosion of the consonants will have less force, and their development will be less dependent upon their position, since in initial position they will have no more force than when medial and will therefore undergo approximately the same changes. Only slight stress being used, aspirates do not appear and voiceless consonants, losing their force of breath, become weaker than the voiced; therefore a consonant is on its way to disappearance when from voiced it becomes voiceless. The quantity of a syllable will seldom be shortened since, if the vowel for any reason loses its length, the consonant immediately following is doubled in compensation. Syncope is less frequent inasmuch as, there being no strongly stressed syllable, the unstressed syllables are less slighted. These rules all apply to Neapolitan.

In Central Italy there are two remnants of the quantitative "accent"; (1) the retention of the double consonants, which tend to disappear under a strong stress accent and which have disappeared almost entirely in Northern Italy, (2) the distinct pronunciation of unaccented syllables which are slighted and even disappear in the North.

CHAPTER I.¹

CENTRAL ITALIAN DIALECTS.

THE Central Italian group of dialects, or *lingua toscana*, may be roughly described as the vernacular speech of the provinces of Tuscany, Umbria, Ancona, and Latium.

Dividing this territory into two almost equal parts, there rises the range of Monte Amiata, continued to the East by the Umbrian highland. The dialects spoken to the North of this line may be called Tuscan while those to the South may be classed as Roman.

The chief divergences to be found between the spoken language (or *Lingua Toscana*) *as a whole* and the Literary Italian are:

1) The dropping of the final -RE of the infinitive which is almost universal in verbs of the first conjugation and very frequent in those of the second and third. This tendency is less marked in the Montagna Lucchese and the Montagna Pistoiese. It is also a characteristic of Neapolitan and Abruzzese.

2) The confusion between L and R before consonants or when final, the pronunciation tending towards R except in Pisa and Livorno where it is often difficult to distinguish which is used. In the Montagna Lucchese and the Montagna Pistoiese L and R are however usually differentiated.

The Masculine Singular definite article is ER.

AR, al; COR, col; ARTRO, altro; QUARCUNO, qualcuno.

¹ H, a simple aspirate (cf. English H) is differentiated from the harsh velar H (cf. German CH). Palatal S is shown by S. The accents usually written in the literary language are kept.

(Pisa, Livorno) ¹ TOLNA(RE), tornare; TULCO, turco.

3) The development of NGE, NGI into GN (NY) which is common except in the vicinity of Pisa and Livorno.
PIAGNE(RE); SPEGNE(RE).

TUSCAN DIALECTS.

C intervocalic before E and I is pronounced as SC (\$).

C before A, O, or U is an aspirate (H, Ĥ).

CC intervocalic before E and I is pronounced as TSC (TS).

Diminutives in -INO.

Circumlocution NOI SI VA, NOI SI PARLA.

The most striking characteristics of the Tuscan group of dialects are:

1) The pronunciation of C intervocalic before E or I as if it were SC.

DICE (pronounced DISCE),

while CC in the same position is pronounced as TSC.

CACCIA, cf. CACIO (pronounced CASCIO).

2) The aspiration of C before A, O, and U.

CASA (pronounced CHASA and even ĤASA).

3) The very frequent use of diminutives in -INO.

BELLINO; POCHINO; PIANINO; PICCINO.

4) The use of circumlocutions to avoid the first person plural in -IAMO.

NOI SI VA; NOI SI PARLA, &c.

The Roman dialects on the other hand pronounce C intervocalic before E and I as if it were TSC, C before A, O, and U as K (without aspiration), use diminutives in -ETTO (RAGAZZETTO; POCHETTO; &c.) often discarding a diminutive which can only be formed with -INO, and freely use the first person plural in -IAMO, -AMMO, -AMO.

¹ When examples are common to most of the territory they are given without any note thereof; when, however, they are distinctly local the place is noted in parentheses.

The Tuscan dialects may be roughly divided into:

I. Pistoiese, spoken in Pistoja and the mountains to the North and West.

II. Florentine, spoken in the middle Valdarno and Northern Chianti.

III. Siennese, spoken in the central Tuscan Highland and the valley of the Ombrone.

IV. Aretine, spoken in the upper Valdarno, the Val di Chiana, and the upper Val di Tevere.

V. Perugian, spoken in the vicinity of Perugia and as far as Lago Trasimeno.

VI. Luccan, spoken in Lucca and the Apuan Alps. (Separated from Pisan by the Monte Pisano and a malarial region between the Arno and the Serchio.)

VII. Pisan, spoken in the lower Valdarno. (Separated from Livornese by a malarial district.)

VIII. Livornese, spoken in Livorno and the Montagna Livornese.

I. PISTOIESE.

The language of the Montagna Pistoiese differs but little in pronunciation from the literary standard.

C before A, O, and U is but slightly aspirated. (K, KH).

CHASA; CHASERMA; CHOME; CURA(RE), CHURA(RE).

Note.) The dialect of the city of Pistoja may change C before A, O, or U into a spirant (H) when initial or intervocalic or may lose it entirely. (K>KH, H, or disappears).

C before E and I develops as in the rest of Tuscany; i. e., intervocalic it is pronounced as if it were SC (S), while initial or after consonants it is pronounced as TSC (TS).

DOLCEZZA; CERTO; FACE(V)A; (the spellings DOLCIEZZA, CIERTO, FACIEVA, FACIEA not representing the true pronunciation but being simply analogical).

G before A, O, and U is occasionally aspirated. (G>G or GH).

PAG(H)A(RE); AG(H)O.

LY intervocalic usually becomes **GLI** (**L**) as in the literary language, but occasionally we find **GGHI** (**GY**) as in Vulgar Florentine (San Frediano).

MEGLIO, MEGGHIO; SVEGLIA, SVEGGHIA.

QU is aspirated like **C** before **A, O,** and **U** and may even become **H**. (**KW > KHW, HW, H**).

QHUA**TITA, HUA****TITA, HAN****TITA; QHUE****LLLO, HUE****LLLO, HEL****LO; CONQHUI****STA, CONHUI****STA, CONHIS****TA.**

-ARIUM occasionally becomes **-AGLIO**. This is also true in the Montagna Lucchese.

MACELLAGLIO (macellarium); **ACQUAGLIO** (aquarium); **ACCIAGLIO** (aciarium).

T intervocalic is occasionally aspirated (**TH**), though this is not usually shown in the writing.

Italian **V** intervocalic, whatever be its source, often disappears as in the neighboring dialects.

PÒERO (pauperum); **DEŪTO, DOVŪTO; AŪTO** (habutum); **AE(****RE), AVE(****RE).**

One of the most marked peculiarities of the Pistojesse is the careful open pronunciation of final unaccented **A**. In Pistojesse, as in most of the other Tuscan dialects a final accented vowel may develop an indistinct vowel sound following it. Then, especially after close **E**, a **Y** glide may develop between the two vocalic elements.

PUŌE, può; FAE, fa; MÊJE, me; TÊJE, te.

Porretta is no longer Tuscan, but Gallo-Italian in its speech, while Montale Pistojesse shows traces of Florentine influence.

II. FLORENTINE.

Adjacent to the Pistojesse on the East and South is the Florentine. The differences between these two dialects are very marked. The most noticeable are:

1) The harsh velar pronunciation of **C** (**Ĥ**) before **A, O,** and **U** which is to be heard in Florence, Vicchio, Palazzuolo, and Certaldo. It is noticeably different from the softer aspiration (**H**) of the Pistojesse, Siennese, and Pisan.

2) LY intervocalic regularly becomes GGHI (GY) instead of GLI (L).

MEGGHIO, meglio; SVEGGHIA, sveglia.

Note.) This change is noticed at Montale and takes place in Vicchio, Palazzuolo, and Certaldo. (Marradi and Rocca San Casciano are in Gallo-Italian territory and present GI (G); MEGIO). It also occurs in Aretine, being common in Arezzo, Cortona, Castiglione Fiorentino, Città di Castello, San Sepolcro, and as far as Sant'Agata Feltria and Urbania Marchigiana. In Luccan territory it occurs in Massa Lunigiana and Montignoso. In Florence it is to be found in the quarters surrounding the Mercato San Frediano.

3) T intervocalic is strongly aspirated in Florence, Vicchio, and Certaldo, and is sometimes pronounced as English TH (in *thin*), sometimes as H.

ARRI(V)A(T)HA; DA(T)HO; ANDA(T)HO.

III. SIENNESE.

Siennese presents few differences from the Pistojesse, but is quite different from the vulgar Florentine.

1) C before A, O, and U is pronounced as English H or disappears.

(H)ASA, casa; (H)OME, come; (H)URA(RE), curare.

2) G before A, O, and U remains without aspiration.

PAGA(RE); AGO.

3) LY intervocalic becomes GLI (L).

MEGLIO; SVEGLIA.

4) QU is aspirated and may become HU. (KW, KHW, HW).

(Q)HUANTITA; (Q)HUELLO.

5) -ARIUM becomes -AIO as in Florentine.

6) T intervocalic may only be slightly aspirated (TH).

7) Italian V intervocalic often disappears as in Florentine and Pistojesse.

POERINO, *poverino*; **AÛTO**, *avuto*; **DEÛTO**, *DOÛTO*, *dovuto*.

8) Diminutives in **-INO** are especially frequent.

DIO (H)ANINO, cf. Florentine **DIO HANE**, *Dio cane*.

IV. ARETTINE.

1) C before A, O, and U is not usually aspirated, but frequently becomes a weak G.

GASA, *casa*; **DIGO**, *dico*; **POGO**, *poco*; **MIGA**, *mica*.

2) G before A, O, and U remains.

PAGA(RE); **AGO**.

3) LY intervocalic usually becomes **GGHI (GY)** as in Vulgar Florentine. See above.

4) QU may become GU.

GUANTITA, *quantità*; **GUELLO**, *quello*.

5) **-ARIUM** becomes **-AIO** as in Florentine and Siennese.

6) Intervocalic T remains without aspiration. In the Northern and Northeastern part of the Aretine territory we frequently find D.

DISPERÈTA, **DISPERÈDA**, **DISPERATA**.

7) Italian V intervocalic often disappears as in Florentine, Pistoiese, and Siennese.

POERO, *povero*; **AUTO**, *avuto*; **A(V)È(RE)**.

8) An A- is often developed before initial R. This tendency is to be found also in the Roman group of dialects and East of a line running from near Corneto between San Lorenzo Nuovo and Orvieto, East of Acquapendente, Santa Fiora, and Arcidosso, West of Chiusi, Cortona, Castiglione Fiorentino and Palazzuolo, but East of Vicchio.

AR(I)TORNA(RE); **AR(I)VEDE(RE)**.

9) Tonic free A shows a tendency to become **Æ**, **È**.

GRÈZIA, *grazia*; **AREGNÆVA**, *regnava*; **DISPERÈTA**, *disperata*.

10) Tonic open E shows a tendency to become IE when the final syllable contained an I or O (U) element.

PIERDO, perdo; VIENGO, vengo; CIERTO, CERTA, CIERTI, CERTE.

11) Latin IN- before a consonant becomes AN- and IM- becomes AM- under the same circumstances.

ANGIURIANDO, ingiuriando; ANSEGNÈTE, insegnate; AMPARÈRE, imparare.

12) In Cortona (upper town) we notice a tendency to affix -NE to words ending in an accented vowel. This termination is common in a large part of the Roman territory. In Arezzo we find -E, -JE as in Florentine and Pistoiese.

(Cortona) RÈNE, re; PUONE, può; MÈNE, me; TÈNE, te.
(Arezzo, &c.) RÈJE; PUOE; MÉJE; TÈJE.

V. PERUGIAN.

1) C before A, O, and U is sometimes pronounced as G.
CASA, GASA; DICO, DIGO; POCO, POGO; FORCA, FORGA.

2) LY intervocalic becomes GLI (L) or J (Y), seldom GGHI.

MEGLIO, MEJO; SVEGLIA, SVEJA.

3) QU occasionally becomes GU.

QUANDO, GUANDO; QUANTITA, GUANTITA.

4) -ARIUM becomes -AIO as in Florentine, but occasionally -ARO.

MACELLAIO, MACELLARO; FORNAIO, FORNARO.

5) Intervocalic T remains.

PARLATO; FINITO.

6) Italian V intervocalic, whatever its source, may disappear.
POERO, povero; ÀUTO, avuto.

7) Perugian ARI- initial (from Latin RE-) becomes AR-.
ARTORNA(RE), ritornare; ARVEDE(RE), rivedere.

8) Tonic free A remains.

GRAZIA; DISPERATA; ANDATA.

9) Open E usually becomes IE, open O becomes UO, close E often becomes I, and close O often becomes U under the accent if the following final syllable presents an I or O (U).

PRIEGO, prego; TIEMPO, tempo; VIENGO, vengo; CIERTO, CERTA.

CUORO, coro; CORE, cuore.

QUISTO, QUESTA.

UGNI, ogni.

10) Latin IN-, IM- remain before consonants.

VI. LUCCAN.

Luccan presents the following characteristics.

1) C before A, O, and U is changed into a sound resembling English H or disappears.

(H)ASA, casa; (H)OME, come; (H)URA(RE), curare.

Note.) We also find CHASA; CHOME; CHURA(RE).

2A) Latin CY, TY become SS, SSI, SI.

SCORSA, scorza; TERRASSO, terazzo; PIASSA, piazza; FORSA, forza; CONDISIONE, condizione; GRASIA, grazia.

2B) Latin DY becomes SS or ZZ.

MESSO, MEZZO; RASSO, raggio; MERRIZZO, meriggio.

Note.) In SCORSA, FORSA we see the SS simplified after a consonant.

3) Latin LY usually results in GLI (L) but in some parts of the Montagna Lucchese we find J(Y). In Massa and Montignoso we find GGHI, and in Carrara GI.

(Montagna Lucchese) FOGLIO, FOJO; MEGLIO, MEJO.

(Lucca) FOGLIO; MEGLIO.

(Massa, Montignoso) FOGGHIO; MEGGHIO, MEGHDIO.

(Carrara, &c.) FOGIO, MEGIO.

4) N or NN may become ND, M or MM may become MB.

INDATO, innato; COOMBERO, cocomero; STOMBAGO, stomago.

5) Italian QU becomes HU or U.

(H)UARANTA; (H)UANTITA; (H)UELLO.

Note.) Occasionally we hear QHUARANTA; QHUANTITA, &c.

6) -ARIUM becomes -AIO or -AGLIO.

CARBONAIO, CARBONAGLIO; ACQUAIO, ACQUAGLIO.

Note.) Analogously we have -OIO, -OGLIO.

CUOIO, CUOGLIO.

7) Italian V intervocalic often falls.

PÒERO, povero; RICEÙTO, ricevuto; ALTROÈ, altrove.

8) Initial V and B are often confused and occasionally intervocalic P becomes F.

BAFORE, vapore; VIENGO, BIENGO.¹

9) In the Apuan Alps and along the coast impure S is palatalized.

SPIA; STIA; SPESSO.

VII. PISAN.

The dialect of Pisa much resembles that of Lucca. There are the following peculiarities to note.

1) C initial before A, O, and U occasionally disappears, but usually becomes a weak H.

(H)ANE, cane; (H)OME, come; (H)OSI, così.

Note.) CHANE; CHOME; CHOSI are also occasionally heard.

2) C intervocalic before A, O, and U frequently drops.

ANTIO, antico; DI(H)O, dico.

3) LY intervocalic becomes GLI (L).

MEGLIO; SVEGLIA.

¹ The diphthongs of VIENGO, PIERDO are analogical in Luccan, cf. *vièni, tièni*.

4) Initial QU of the literary language becomes V except after a word which may cause its pronunciation to be reinforced.

VANTITÀ, quantità; VESTA, questa; VELLO, quello; but A QUARCHUNO, a qualcuno.

5) -ARIUM becomes -AIO.

CARBONAIO; FORNAIO.

6) Italian V intervocalic often falls.

PÒERO, povero; BEÚTO, bevuto.

7) Initial V is often confused with B, and occasionally intervocalic P with F.

BAFORE, vapore; REFUBBRICA, repubblica.

8A) SS occurs instead of literary ZZ, and S instead of literary Z, from Latin CY, TY (as in Luccan).

TERRASSO, terrazzo; PIASSA, piazza; SCORSA, scorza.

8B) ŚŚ appears instead of literary GG and S instead of G (as in Luccan).

RASSO, raggio; RAŚIONE, ragione.

9) NGE, NGI do not become GN.

PIANGE; MANGIA(RE).

VIII. LIVORNESE.

Livornese has been subject to many foreign influences, especially Venetian, Genoese, and Neapolitan. Its vocabulary contains a great number of borrowed words. Its most striking phonological peculiarities are:

1) Italian S anteconsonantal appears in Livornese as L or LS (LŚ) (+ a consonant).

LPASSO, spasso; LTAGIONE, stagione; LBAGLIO, sbaglio; VELTO, VELSTO, questo.

This development is difficult to explain. As S impure was palatalized in Neapolitan, Genoese, and along the Ligurian and the Northern part of the Tuscan coast we may suppose that

that was the first step. Then the palatal *S* may have become semi-vocalized. See Papanti, p. 247 for a description of the resultant sound.

2) *C* before *A*, *O*, and *U* may disappear or be retained as a weak aspirate as in Pisan.

(H)ASA, casa; (H)ANE, cane; DI(H)O, dico.

3) *LY* becomes *GLI* (*L*) as in Pisan.

MEGLIO; LVEGLIA, sveglia.

4) *QU* initial appears as *V* except after words which cause a doubled or reinforced pronunciation.

VELLA; VANDO; but A QUELLA; A QUANDO.

5) -ARIUM becomes -AIO.

FORNAIO.

6) Italian intervocalic *V* often disappears.

PÒERO, povero; AÙTO, avuto.

7) Initial *B* and *V* are often confused, and occasionally intervocalic *P* and *F* as in Pisan.

BAFORE, vapore; REFUBBRICA, repubblica.

8) *Z*, *ZZ* (*TS*, *TTS*) appear instead of Pisan *S*, *SS* (from Latin *CY*, *TY*, *DY*).

GIULTIZIA, giustizia; RAZIONE, orazione; PIAZZA.

9) *NGE*, *NGI* do not become *GN* (*NY*).

PIANGE; MANGIA.

10) Final unaccented *E* (especially in polysyllables) often appears as *I*.

ER CASSIERI, il cassiere; ER POMPIERI, il pompiere.

THE ROMAN GROUP OF DIALECTS.

The Roman group of dialects presents the following peculiarities.

1) *ND* becomes *NN* (as in Abruzzese and Neapolitan).

PARLANNO, parlando; MONNO, mondo.

2) LD becomes LL (as in Abruzzese).

CALLO, caldo; ARISCALLA(RE), riscaldare; FALLA, falda.

3) MB becomes MM (as in Abruzzese and Neapolitan).

PIOMMO, piombo; GAMMA, gamba.

4) Accented open E and O show a tendency towards diphthongization (IE and UO) especially when the vowel of the final syllable was I or O (U).

TIEMPO; VIENGO; UOCCHIO; STUORTO, but STORTA.

The Roman territory is less cut up by mountain ranges and other linguistic barriers than is the Tuscan. Politically also it has been less divided, as papal influence always dominated here. Therefore it does not present as many dialectic variations. It may be roughly divided into five parts.

I. ORBITELLANO.

II. ROMANO (Roman).

III. TERNANO.

IV. NETTUNESE.

V. ANCONITANO.

I. ORBITELLANO.

Orbitellano differs from the other Roman dialects in the following points:

1) Latin LY becomes GLI (L) instead of J (Y) as in Rome. MEGLIO; SVEGLIA.

2) Initial RI- remains without developing a prefixed A-. RITUORNO; RISPONNE(RE), rispondere.

3) The termination added to monosyllables ending in an accented vowel is often -E, -JE, instead of -NE.

PUÒE, può; RÈJE, re; TÈJE, te.

II. ROMANO.

The dialects of the Abruzzi encroach upon the Roman territory to the East, the linguistic barrier being the first range of the Sabine Hills. Thus Arsoli, Fara in Sabina, and Rieti are Abruzzese rather than Central Italian in their speech. These localities present regular diphthongization of accented open E and O under the influence of an I or O (U) in the final syllable and a closing of close E to I and close O to U (rarely A to E) under the same conditions. S anteconsonantal, especially when initial, is somewhat palatalized: G initial before E and I becomes J (Y); J initial remains as J (Y); D initial may be dropped (especially before I) or become a voiced dental spirant, or R; and Latin LY becomes GLI (L). These characteristics are common to Neapolitan and Abruzzese.

TIEMPO; STELLA; UOVO, OVA; CHISTO, CHESTA;
(I)NNUSTRIUSO, (I)NNUSTRIOSIA; SPIA; JENTILE;
JUSTIZIA; ICE(RE), RICE(RE), dire; MEGLIO.

In Rome itself the following points are to be noted.

1) Latin LY becomes J(Y).

MEJO, meglio; SVEJA (exvigilia), sveglia.

2) Initial RI- develops a prefixed A- and often loses its I, becoming AR- (as in Arettine, Perugian, and Abruzzese).

AR(I)TUORNO, ritorno; AR(I)SPONNE(RE), rispondere.

3) Initial R- often develops a prefixed A-.

ARENNE(RE), rendere; ARRÉ, ARRÉNE, re.

4) The termination often added to words ending in an accented vowel is -NE.

PUONE, può; TÈNE, te; MÈNE, me.

5) Intervocalic C before A, O, and U is often confused with G (as in Arezzo and parts of the Abruzzi, also in Neapolitan and Perugian).

MIGA, MICA; POGO, POCO; DIGO, DICO.

Note.) The Roman dialect, with few variations, is spoken in the Roman Campagna, Viterbo, Orvieto, and Assisi.

III. TERNANO.

Ternano is spoken in Terni, Todi, Foligno, and the country immediately surrounding. This dialect differs from the Roman principally in that Latin initial G before E and I becomes J (Y) instead of GI, G, (Ġ), and Latin J initial remains as J (Y) instead of becoming GI, G (Ġ).

JENTILE, gentile; JENTE, gente; JUSTIZIA, giustizia.

Rieti, as has already been noted, is Abruzzese in its speech.

The dialect of Norcia often drops D initial, as does Reatino, but in other respects closely resembles the Ternano.

(D)ICO; (D)UE.

In Terni and Norcia S impure is somewhat palatalized (especially before T, P, and F), but not in Todi.

IV. NETTUNESE.

Nettunese is spoken South of the Alban Hills. It is on the border between the Roman and Neapolitan territory and therefore may be expected to show some of the peculiarities of each.

In Nettuno, Alatri, San Vito, and Guarcino open E usually develops into closed E (instead of remaining or diphthongizing into IE) when the vowel of the final syllable is I or O (U).

MÉDECO, medico; PÈDE, PÈDI; DÈNTE, DÈNTI.

Close E usually becomes I when the vowel of the final syllable is I or O (U).

ISSO, ESSA; PJENA, PJINO; CHISTO, CHESTA, CHISTI, CHESTE.

Open O usually becomes closed (instead of remaining or diphthongizing into UO) when the vowel of the final Latin syllable is I or O (U).

BÓNO, BÒNA, BÓNI, BÒNE; CÒRE, CÒRI.

Close O usually becomes U when the vowel of the final syllable is I or O (U).

CURIUSO, CURIOSA; SULO, SOLA, SULI, SOLE.

QU initial often becomes **CH** (**K**) before **E** and **I**.

CHISTO, questo; **CHILLO**, quello.

Latin **LY** becomes **GLI** (**L**), as in Neapolitan and Literary Italian, instead of **J** (**Y**) as in Roman.

MEGLIO; **SVEGLIA**.

In Alatri and Frosinone, sometimes in Nettuno, we find **J** initial instead of Literary Italian **G**, **GI**, from Latin **G** before **E** or **I** or from Latin **J**.

JENTILE; **JENTE**, gente; **JUSTO**, giusto.

Arpino is Neapolitan rather than Central Italian in speech and Anagni is Roman rather than Nettunese.

V. ANCONITANO.

The March of Ancona has no one dialect. It is much cut up linguistically; nevertheless the divergences are scarcely sufficient to make it necessary to treat of the dialects of this small territory under more than one heading in such a brief study as this.

The dialects of Ancona and Falconara differ from those of the rest of the March and from the Roman dialects in general in that they retain **ND**, **LD**, and **MB**.

(Ancona, Falconara) **ANDA(RE)**; **CALDO**; **PIOMBO**.

(Osimo, Jesi, Arcevia, Fabriano, Rome, etc.) **ANNA(RE)**; **CALLO**; **PIOMMO**.

The dialects of Osimo, Jesi, Arcevia, and Fabriano palatalize **S** impure (especially before **T** and **P**).

STA(RE); **SPIA**; **AR(I)SPONNE(RE)**.

In Arcevia, Fabriano, and Loreto we find initial **J** instead of Italian **G**, **GI**, from Latin **G** before **E** and **I** or Latin **J**.

JENTE, gente; **JENTILE**, gentile; **JUSTO**, giusto.

CHAPTER II.¹

ABRUZZESE DIALECTS.

Note.) Under this heading it seems advisable to treat of the dialects of the Marches of Macerata and Ascoli and the provinces of Terra di Lavoro and Molise, with occasional references to Neapolitan, as well as the dialects of the three Abruzzi.

TONIC VOWELS.

Note.) In the provinces of Teramo, Chieti, and Molise an initial tonic vowel is usually re-enforced either by an aspiration (H) or a J (Y) sound.

(Ter., Ch.) HANEME, anima; HOME, uomo; JI, hai.

(Atessa) HANEME, anima; HOME, uomo; HAJJ, hai.

(Campobasso) JANEME, anima; JOME, uomo; JOTTE, otto.

This also frequently occurs when the initial syllable does not bear the primary accent.

JARRUBIVE, JARRUBIHE, rubai; ARRUBE, JARRUBE, rubo.

A.

I. Tonic A free or checked remains:

1.) When the final unaccented Latin vowel was A.

MMASCIATA, MMASCIATA, ambasciata; DESPERATA, DESPERATE, disperata; CAPA, CAPE, capa; NSULTATA, NSULTATE, insultata.

¹ Open E and O are indicated by the grave accent (`), close E and O by the acute (´). Where no accent is shown the pronunciation of the accented vowel has been noted to vary between open and close. Close A is indicated by the grave accent (˘). Palatal S is shown by Š. Indistinct vowels are shown as A, E, I, O, U.

Note 1.) Bucchianico and Pratola show both *Æ* (*È*) and *A* in the feminine of adjectives (the form with *E* coming from analogy with the masculine), but only *A* in the first and third persons of the Imperfect Indicative.

GNURIÈTE, GNURIÈTE, GNURIATE, ingiuriata; NSULTÈTE, NSULTATA, insultata; but CACCIAVE, CACCIAVA, cacciava.

Note 2.) Under the influence of a palatal immediately preceding we have in Campobasso FIÈSCA, fiascone; CHIÈZZA, piazza; CHIEJA (Neap. chiaja); in the Abruzzo of Chieti PIÈZZA, piazza, by the side of PROZZE, piazza.

Note 3.) Under the influence of a palatal immediately following we note the forms ÈCQUE, HÈCQUE as co-existent with ACQUE, HACQUE, acqua, in the Abruzzo of Chieti.

Alatri shows CASTEGNA, castagna, and MERCA, marca.

Note 4.) Finamore also notes for Chieti examples showing *Ò*.

JÒVETE, gavita; SPÒLLA, spalda; HÒMMA, gamba.

Note 5.) -ARIA becomes -ARA, -ARE; and -ARIU becomes -ARO, -ARE.

JENNARO, JENNARE, gennaio; CALLARA, CALLARE, caldaia.

Note 5A.) PER ARIA gives Ch. PEDIÈREJE, Ter. PELL'IREJE, Neap. PER ARIA, the noun ARIA, even in a closely connected adverbial phrase, showing a very different development from the suffix.

Note 5B.) -ARIA and -ARIU sometimes give -ÈRA, -ÈRE and -ERO, -ERE by analogy of confusion with -ERIA, -ERIU. Note that the same thing happens in Italian. CAMBRIÈRA, CAMBRIERE, cameriera, cameriere.)

Note 6.) STÈJJA, stava, and DÈJJA, dava, (Campobasso) and STÈVA and DÈVA (Naples and Terra di Lavoro) are probably analogical. The forms in Chieti and Teramo are STATEVE and DÈSSE.

Note 7.) MALUM, pomo, becomes MÈLA. This change is also Tuscan.

2.) when becoming final by the dropping of the final Latin syllable.

BELTÀ; MAJĚSTÀ; AMA(RE); SUPPORTA(RE); CACCIA(RE).

Note.) In Bucchianico we note a tendency toward Æ, È. CIRCHÈ(RE), cercare; ARRIGLARÈ(RE), arreglare.

II. Tonic A free or checked remains in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Ascoli, and Macerata but often becomes Æ and even È in the Abruzzi of Teramo and Chieti when the final unaccented Latin vowel was E or O (U).

PANE (Ch., Ter. PÆNE); CARNE (Ch., Ter. CÆRNE).

PATRE (Ch., Ter. PĚTRE); QUANNO (Ch., Ter. QUĚNNE); MALO (Ch., Ter. MÆLE, MĚLE), malo.

Note 1.) This change is most noticeable in open syllables.

Note 2.) This change is by no means regular as Finamore quotes for Chieti and Teramo PATRE, PUATRE, PĚATRE, PĚTRE, PÔTRE, and even PÔTRE.

Note 3.) Atessa, Palena, Villa Santa Maria, and Vasto usually retain the A, though somewhat closed, Pratola shows a tendency towards Æ, È.

III. Tonic A free or checked remains in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Ascoli, and Macerata when the final unaccented Latin vowel was I. In Teramo it becomes I under these conditions. In Chieti it becomes I when free in paroxytones, IĚ when checked in paroxytones and either free or checked in proparoxytones.

(Ascoli) DESPERATI, disperati; SCILLIRATI, scellerati.

(Bucchianico) DESPERĪTE, disperati; SCILLARĪTE, scellerati.

EXAMPLES OF CHANGES.

Paroxytones: Both Chieti and Teramo have FRĪTE, frati; SULDĪTE, soldati; MĪNE, mani; but in position we find Ch. CUMBIĚGNE, Ter. CUMBĪGNE, compagni; Ch. SIĚNDE, Ter. SĪNDE, santi; Ch. CHIĚNDE, Ter. QUĪNDE, quanti;

Ch. PIÈSSE, Ter. PISSE, passi; Ch. FIÈTTE, Ter. FÌTTE, fatti, etc.

Proparoxytones: Ch. IÈSENE, Ter. ISENE, asini; Ch. MERIÈCULE, Ter. MERÍCULE, miracoli; Ch. DIJÈVULE, Ter. DIJÍVULE, diavoli; Ch. JIÈNGELE, Ter. JÍNGELE, angeli; Ch. PIÈSSERE, Ter. PÍSSERE, passeri.

Note 1.) The history of ALTERI (v. De Lollis) is interesting. (Arch. Glott. xii).

Ch.	{	AVETRI JIÈVETRE
Lat. ALTERI AULTRI AVTRI		(Ch. città) JIVETRE
Ter.		ADDRI JIDDRE

Note also Ch. JÈVETE, Ter. JÍDDE, alti.

Note 2.) In the conjugations of verbs this change is much more widespread and Parodi finds it in the dialect of Arpino where IE appears in the Present Indicative and I in the Imperfect and Preterite.

Note 3.) Atessa, Vasto, Canosa, Palena, and Città Sant'Angelo show A, Æ.

E.

(Close).

I. Tonic close E remains in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Macerata, and Ascoli when the final Latin vowel was not I or O (U).

FÈMMENA; CANNÈLA, candela; RÈNA, arena; LÈGGE; PUTÈCA, bottega.

Note 1.) In Molise we often find ÈI in an open penult.

RÈITA, rete; SÈRA, SÈIRA.

II. Tonic close E usually becomes I in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Macerata, and Ascoli when the final Latin vowel was I or O (U).

(Sing.) PAÈSE, (Plu.) PAÍSI, PAÍSE; (Masc.) ÍSSO, ÍSSE, (Fem.) ÈSSA, ÈSSE; (Masc. Sing.) CHJÍNO, CHJÍNE, (Fem. Sing.) CHJÈNA, CHJÈNE, (Masc. Plu.) CHJÍNI, CHJÍNE, (Fem. Plu.) CHJÈNE.

Note 1.) This tendency extends in some places well into Central Italian territory, being noted as far as Ancona, Sinigaglia, Arcevia, Cupramontana, Fabriano, Costacciaro, Perugia, Assisi, Todi, Terni, Rieti, Poggio Molano, Palombara, San Vito Romano, Palestrina, Zagarolo, Albano, and Nettuno.

ISSO, esso; CHILLO, quello; CHIGLI, quegli; CHISTO, questo; ISSI, essi; etc.

Note 2.) This tendency is most marked when the vowel of the final Latin syllable was I, e. g., in the plurals, and in the second person singular of the conjugations. However it may occur even where the word to-day ends in -A having undergone a change in gender.

(Campobasso) CITA, aceto.

Note 3.) Important exceptions are VELENO and VERO.

III. Tonic close E develops in Chietino and Teramano like open E. See below.

Open E.

I. Tonic open E free or checked usually remains in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Ascoli, and Macerata except when the final Latin vowel was I or O (U).

FRÈVA, febbre; NÈVE; PRÈTA, pietra.

Note 1.) In Molise close E frequently appears.

FÈLE, fiele; PÈDE, piede; PRÈTA, pietra.

II. Tonic open E usually becomes IE in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Ascoli, and Macerata when the final Latin vowel was I or O (U).

MIEDECO, MIEDECHE, MIERECO, MIERECHE, medico; TIEMPO, TIEMPE, TIEMBE, tempo; VIECCHIO, VIECCHIE, (Fem. VECCHIA), vecchio; CURTIELLO, CURTIEJO, coltello; PIEDI (Sing. PÈDE); MIEJO, meglio; PIEJO, peggio; etc.

Note 1.) Diphthongization is not regular in the first person singular of the Present Indicative, but occurs in some of the most commonly used verbs.

A(R)RÈPO, tu **A(R)RIEPÈ**, apro, tu apri; but **TIENGO**, tengo; **VIENGO**, vengo; etc.

Note 2.) This tendency towards **IE** extends well into Central Italian territory, being noted as far as Fabriano, Perugia, Todi, Orvieto, Montefiascone, Arpino, and occasionally at Rome. It is however rare in Alatri, San Vito Romano, Guarcino, and Nettuno where Close **E** appears instead of the diphthong.

(Alatri) **MÈDECO**; **PÈDI**, piedi; **DÈNTI**.

Note 3.) We sometimes find both forms side by side.

MEDECO, **MIEDECO**.

Note 4.) Latin **EU** becoming final becomes **IE**, and **EA** becomes **ÈJA**, **ÈJJA** under the same conditions.

MIE (meum); **MÈJA**, **MÈJJA** (meam).

III. Tonic open or close **E** becomes **Æ** in Chietino and Teramano when the final Latin vowel was **A**, **E**, or **O** (**U**). De Lollis states that this sound is more open when the final vowel was **A** than when it was **E** or **O** (**U**). He also distinguishes between Chietino **AI** (**AI**) (in open syllables), **Å** (**Æ**) (in closed syllables), and Teramano **À** (**A**).

Lat. fēl	Ch. FÅILE	Ter. FÅLE.
vēru	VÅIRE	VÅRE.
pīlu	PÅILE	PÅLE.
tēctu	TÅTTE	TÅTTE.
pēctu	PÅTTE	PÅTTE.
strīctu	STRÅTTE	STRÅTTE.

Note 1.) Finamore quotes examples of **È**, **È**, **ÈÈ**, **À**, **À**, **Ò**, **Ò**, and **UE**.

DÈBBELE, **DÈBBELE**, **DÈBBELE**, **DABBELE**, **DABBELE**, **DÒBBELE**, **DÒBBELE**, **DUEBBELE**, **debole**; etc.

IV. Tonic close **E** free or checked becomes **I** in Chietino and Teramano when the final Latin vowel was **I**.

PILE, pelli; **NIRE**, neri; **PUJITE**, poeti; Ch. **PRINE**, Ter. **PLINE**, pieni; Ch. **MISE**, Ter. **MISE**, mesi; **MISSE**, messi.

V. Tonic open E free becomes I in Chietino and Teramano when the final Latin vowel was I.

PIDE, piedi.

VI. Tonic open E checked becomes IÈ in Chietino and I in Teramano when the final Latin vowel was I.

Ch. LIÈTTE, Ter. LITTE, letti; Ch. TIÈMBE, Ter. TIMBE, tempi; Ch. BIÈLLE, Ter. BILLE, belli; Ch. DIÈNDE, Ter. DINDE, denti.

VII. In proparoxytones we find Chietino IÈ, Teramano I.

Ch. MIÈDECHE, Ter. MIDECE, medici; Ch. PRIÈVETE, Ter. PRIVETE, preti; Ch. DIÈBBETE, Ter. DIBBETE, debiti.

VIII. Followed by a Y- combination: we have Ch. and Ter. RIZZE (retia); NNIVEJE (indivia); but CONZÈJE (consilium); MEJJE (melius); MARAVEJJE (mirabilia).

Representing open E: Ch. REMIÈDDEJE, Ter. REMIDDEJE (rimedium); Ch. CUMMIÈDDEJE, Ter. CUMMIDDEJE (commedia).

In conjugations we have Ch. and Ter. TÈGNE, tingo; JARESBÈJJE, risveglio; etc., in which the second person singular shows I; but we also have Ch. TIÈNGHE, Ter. TINGHE, tengo; Ch. VIÈNGHE, Ter. VINGHE; etc., from Latin open E.

I.

Tonic I (Classic Latin long I) remains throughout the territory with but few exceptions.

JENTILE, JENDILE, gentile; FILO, FILE; HALLINA, HALLINE, JALLINE, GALLINA.

Note.) Finamore notes cases showing EI, OI, and AI.

SPEICA, SPAICA, spiga; HALLEINA, HALLAINA, gallina; MEDECEINA, medicina; JENDEILE, gentile; RUMEITE, romito; DOITE, DAITE, dito; FOILE, FAILE, filo; CIARDAINE, giardino; MATUTAINA, mattutino.

These forms do not however show any regular development or tendency in any extended territory.

O.

(Close).

I. Tonic close O remains in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Ascoli, and Macerata when the final Latin vowel was not I or O (U).

ÒRA; UTTÒBRE, ottobre; MÓNDE, monte.

Note 1.) In Molise we frequently find ÒU in the penult when that syllable is open.

CAFFÒUNE, caffone; BUFFÒUNE, buffone; and all other words in -ONE.

II. Tonic close O usually becomes U in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Ascoli, and Macerata when the final Latin vowel was I or O (U).

(Masc.) MMEDIÙSO, MMEDIÙSE, invidioso, (Fem.) MMEDIÓSA.

(Sing.) ADDÓRE, odore, (Plu.) ADDÙRE.

(Masc.) SPÙSO, SPÙSE, (Fem.) SPÓSA.

(Masc.) SÙLO, SÙLE, (Fem.) SÓLA.

(Masc.) CURIÙSO, CURIÙSE, (Fem.) CURIÓSA, CURIÓSE.

(Sing.) UAJÓNE, UAGLIÓNE (Oscan valaemom?).

(Plu.) UAJÙNE, UAGLIÙNE.

(Sing.) REMÓRE, rumore, (Plu.) REMÙRE.

Note 1.) This tendency extends northward as far as Ancona, Sinigallia, Arcevia, Cupramontana, Fabriano, Norcia, Rieti, Palombara, San Vito Romano, Guarcino, Anagni, and Nettuno, but is not noticeable in Rome, Orvieto, or Perugia.

Note 2.) -ORIO, -ORIA become -ÙRE, -ÓRA.

CUSATÙRE, CUSATÓRA, cucitore, cucitora.

Note 3.) D'Ovidio notes for Campobasso the irregular plurals NÓME; SPÓSE; second person singulars with UÓ, TU TE NZUÓRE (but is this not probably from Latin open O?); and the irregular forms PREJATÓREJE; MAGNA-TÓREJE; 'N GERNETÓREJE coming from Latin words in

-ORIU in which we may suspect learned influences; and RASUÓLE, rasoio, which may be influenced by the Tuscan.

Note 4.) In Alatri and Arpino we find the plurals MÓNTE; PÓNTE; NÓME.

Note 5.) In the inflection of the verb we find O in the first person, U in the second singular.

M'ADDÓNE, T'ADDÓNE; SPÓSE, SPÓSE, io sposo, tu sposi.

III. Tonic close O is somewhat confused with open O in Chietino and Teramano. See below.

Open O.

I. Tonic open O free or checked usually remains in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Ascoli, and Macerata except when the final Latin vowel was I or O (U).

CÓRE, cuore; VÒVE, bue; JÓME, ÒME, uomo; SÒRA, SÒRE, suora; PRÒVA, PRÒVE, prova.

Note.) In Campobasso this O is usually open in proparoxytones and close in paroxytones. (v. D'Ovidio).

II. Tonic open O free or checked usually becomes UO in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Ascoli, and Macerata when the final Latin vowel was I or O (U).

(Sing.) CÓRE, (Plu.) CUORE.

(Masc.) BUONO, BUONE, (Fem.) BÒNA, BÒNE.

(Masc.) CUOCO, CUOCHE, (Fem.) CÒCA, CÒCHE.

(Sing.) UOVO, UOVE, (Plu.) ÒVA, ÒVE.

UOCCHIO, UOCCHIE, occhio; SUONNO, SUONNE, sonno; PUORCO, PUORCHE, porco, PÒRCA, PÒRCHE, porca.

Note 1.) Diphthongization does not regularly take place in the first person singular of the Present Indicative, but does in the second person.

Note 2.) In Alatri we do not find diphthongization. Some

words which present close O (as if from Latin close O) when the termination is -A or -E show U under the influence of a final Latin I or O (U).

FRÓNNA, fronda, FRÚGNI (frondi); MÓNTE, MÚNTI.

Note 3.) The tendency towards UO under the influence of final I or O (U) is noted as far as Ancona, Fabriano, Perugia, Todi, Orvieto, and occasionally at Rome.

Note 4.) In Arpino we find UÆ instead of UO before R followed by another consonant.

PUCERCHE, PUCERCO, porco; CUÆRPE, CUÆRPO, corpo.

III. Latin tonic open or close O became open O in Chietino and Teramano when the final Latin vowel was A, E, or O. This sound further developed and we have the following list of examples.

Lat. böve	Ch. VAUVE	Ter. VOVE.
bönu	BAUNE	BONE.
sölu	SAULE	SÖLE.
flöre	FIAURE	FLÖRE.
crüce	CRAUCE	CRÖCE.
pörta		PÖRTE.
nöstru		NÖSTRE.
pörco	PUÖRCHE	PÖRCHE.
incöutra		NGÖNDRE.
rüssu		RÖSE.
türdu		TÖRDE.

Note 1.) Finamore's examples are interesting. He notes UÖRTE, orto; PUÖZZE, pozzo; MUÖRTE, morte; FUÖRTE, forte; DUÖLGE, dolce; 'NBUÖRTE, importa; SUÖLDE, solde; DÖLGE, dolce; ÜRSÖGNE, Orsogna; GIÈRNE, giorno; DULÈRE, dolore; AMÈRE, amore; PASTÈRE, pastore; ÈRE, ora; PASSIÈNE, passione.

Note 2.) Savini states that in Teramo we have open O from Latin long O (FLÖRE; ÖRE), O from Latin short O (BONE; VOVE; OME; JOCHE, gioco), and UO, occasion-

ally O, from Latin O in position (UÒSSE; CUÒRDE; UÒTTE, otto; but LONGHE).

IV. Tonic close O free or checked becomes EÙ in Chietino and U in Teramano when the final Latin vowel was I.

Ch. CANNEÙNE, Ter. CANNÙNE, cannoni; Ch. CAFEÙNE, Ter. CAFÙNE, caffoni; Ch. FIEÙRE, Ter. FLÙRE, fiori; Ch. SPEÙSE, Ter. SPÙSE, sposi; Ch. JEÙRNE, Ter. JÙRNE, giorni; Ch. TEÙRDE, Ter. TÙRDE, torti; Ch. LEÙMME, Ter. LÙMME, lombi; Ch. SEÙRGE, Ter. SÙRGE, sorci.

V. Tonic open O free becomes EÙ in Chietino and U in Teramano when the final Latin vowel was I.

Ch. BEÙNE, Ter. BÙNE, boni; Ch. VEÙVE, Ter. VÙVE, buoi; Ch. PEÙCHE, Ter. PÙCHE, pochi; Ch. NEÙVE, Ter. NÙVE, nuovi.

VI. Tonic open O checked becomes UÒ in Chietino, U in Teramano when the final Latin vowel was I.

Ch. PUÒRCE, Ter. PÙRCE, porci; Ch. PUÒSTE, Ter. PÙSTE, posti; Ch. STUÒRTE, Ter. STÙRTE, storti; Ch. MUÒRTE, Ter. MÙRTE, morti.

VII. In proparoxytones tonic close O free or checked becomes Ch. EÙ, Ter. U, and tonic open free or checked becomes Ch. UÒ, Ter. U under the influence of a final Latin I.

Ch. GEÙVENE, Ter. GÙVENE, giovani; Ch. FEÙN-NECHE, Ter. FÙNNECHE, fondachi; Ch. MUÒNECE, Ter. MÙNECE, monaci; Ch. CUÒDECE, Ter. CÙDECE, codici; Ch. STUÒMECHE, Ter. STÙMECHE, stomaghi; Ch. JUÒMMENE, Ter. JÙMMENE, uomini; Ch. VRUÒC-CHELE, Ter. VRÙCCHELE, broccoli; Ch. CUÒMMEDE, Ter. CÙMMEDE, commodi.

VIII. Followed by a Y combination close O usually results in Chietino EÙ, Teramano U (just as when the final vowel was I).

Lat. <i>fŭria</i>	Ter. <i>FŌREJE.</i>	Ch. <i>FEUREJE</i>
<i>dilŭviu</i>	<i>DELLŌVEJE.</i>	<i>DELLEŪVEJE</i>
<i>angŭstia</i>	<i>JANGŪSTEJE.</i>	<i>JANGHEŪSTEJE</i>
<i>augŭriu</i>	<i>AJŪREJE.</i>	<i>AJEUREJE</i>

Note 1.) Exceptions are Ch. and Ter. *ŌGNE*, ogni; *MŌJJE*, moglie; *JŌCCE*, goccia; *ŌNZE*, oncia; *POZZE*, pozzo.

Note 2.) Ch. *VREVUŌGNE*, Ter. *VREVŌGNE* points to a Latin *verecŏndia*.

IX. Followed by a Y combination open O became Ch. *UŌ*, Ter. *U* (like tonic open O checked when the final Latin vowel was I).

Ch. *JUŌCCHIE*, Ter. *JŪCCHIE*, occhio; Ch. *CUŌCCHIE*, Ter. *CŪCCHIE* (cochlea); etc.

U.

I. Tonic U (Classic Latin long U) remains in all the territory (Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Macerata, Ascoli, Teramo, and Chieti) when the final Latin syllable did not contain I or a palatal.

MŪRE, *MŪRO*; *JŪNA*, *LŪNA*, *LŪNE*; *JŪPE*, *LŪPE*, *LŪPO*.

Note.) Finamore also notes *TĒU*; *LĒUPE*; *PJĒURE*; *TĪ*; *LOPE*; &c.

II. Latin tonic U remains in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, Aquila, Macerata, Ascoli, and Teramo when the final Latin syllable contained I or a palatal.

MŪRE, muri; *JŪPE*, *LŪPE*, lupi; *PŪRE*, puri, etc.

III. Latin tonic U becomes *EŪ* in Chietino under the influence of a following I or palatal whether it be in paroxytones or proparoxytones.

NEŪDE, nudi; *MEŪRE*, muri; *JEŪSTE*, giusti; *JEŪ-DECE*, giudici; *LEŪTEME*, ultimi; *FEŪLMENE*, fulmini; *GEŪGNE*, giugno; *LEŪJJE*, luglio; *STREŪJJE*, struggo; *JARENEŪNCEJE*, rinuncio.

PRETONIC VOWELS.

INITIAL.

A.

Pretonic initial A usually remains.

AMÓRE, AMMÓRE.

Often other pretonic initial vowels become A.

ACCHIALE, UCCHIALE, occhiale; AS(S)EMPIO (exemplum); ACCÍDE(RE), uccidere; ACCASIÓNE, occasione.

Note.) Often two forms exist side by side.

Sometimes A becomes initial by the loss of an initial consonant (usually G).

ALLÍNA, GALLÍNA.

Compounds with A + a consonant (from Latin AD-) are very common.

ADDÓ(VE), dove; ABBADÁ(RE); ATTUNNA(RE), attendare.

Often A- is developed before initial R. Then, if followed by a vowel, the R may be doubled. RI- becomes AR(I). Under the secondary accent this A may be re-enforced by an initial aspirate (H) or a Y sound (written J) in the provinces of Teramo, Chieti, and Molise.

AR(I)TENÉ(RE); AR(I)TORNÁ(RE); JARRUBIVE, rubai.

Note 1.) The aspirate or Y sound may develop before A- from other sources in Teramo, Chieti, and Molise.

JACCUSCÍ, HACCUSCÍ, così, accosi.

Note 2.) This tendency is not as strong in Naples and Terra di Lavoro as elsewhere but Neapolitan AR(R)EPÍ(RE), aprire, perhaps may show metathesis of R and development of initial A-, or it may be from ADAPRIRE.

Note 3.) The tendency to develop A- before initial R is noted in Central Italian territory East of a line running from

near Corneto between San Lorenzo Nuovo and Orvieto, East of Acquapendente, Santa Fiora, and Arcidosso, West of Chiusi, Cortona, Castiglione Fiorentino, Arezzo, and Palazzuolo, but East of Vicchio.

E.

Initial unaccented E may become A or be lost.

ASTRÉMO (extremum); ASEMPIO (exemplum); ASSUCA(RE), (exsucare); SCI(RE), uscire.

I.

Initial unaccented I usually falls.

NCANTO, incanto; NGEENA(RE), ingegnare.

Note.) In the speech of the educated it is frequently retained.

It sometimes becomes A.

AMMENDA(RE), MMENTA(RE), inventare.

O.

Initial unaccented O usually becomes U, but may fall, or be changed to A.

UCCHIATA, occhiata; UBBERIENZA, ubbidienza; UNESTA, onesta; UNESTO, NESTO, onesto; NORE, ANNORE, onore; RAZZEJONE (orationem); ADDORE, odore.

U.

Pretonic initial U usually remains, but may fall, or be changed to A.

UMORE; NU, uno; NEVERZALE, universale; ASSURPA(RE), usurpare.

PRETONIC VOWELS NON-INITIAL.

Pretonic A non-initial remains.

CAPIELLO, CAPPIEJE, cappello; GALANTE, HALANTE.

Pretonic E non-initial remains, but may become A before R. In hiatus it becomes I.

NEPÓTE; LENTÉZA; DICIA^{RA}, dirà; CRIA(RE), CRIJA(RE).

Pretonic I (Classic Latin long I) non-initial usually remains, but occasionally we find E.

FIDA(RE); FIDÚCIA, FEDÚCIA; FINÉZA.

Classic Latin short I (Vulgar Latin E) becomes E.
TENTÓRE; LENZÓLE; LETECA(RE), litigare.

Pretonic O non-initial usually becomes U.

DUTTÓRE, dottore; ADDURA(RE), odorare; PURTA(RE).

Pretonic U non-initial remains.

SUPÍNO; MURAGLIA.

POST-TONIC VOWELS NON-FINAL.

Post-Tonic non-final A, E, and I tend to become E, unless followed by R, in which case the tendency is towards A.

SABBETO, SAPETO, sabato; ÓRGHENO, organo; MMAGENE, imagine; ÓRDEMO, ÓDDEME, ultimo; GIOVENE, JOVENE, giovine; ÈLLARA, ÈLLARE, edera.

Post-tonic non-final O and U become U (occasionally confused with E).

URACULO; MIRACULO; DIAVULO, DIAVULE, DIAVELE.

POST-TONIC VOWELS FINAL.

Post-tonic vowels final become semi-mute and are often confused.

In Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Aquila, Macerata, and Ascoli one can distinguish final A (from Latin A), E (Latin E or I), and O (Latin O or U). Final Neapolitan O is pronounced as an obscure U rather than as O.

In Molise one distinguishes final A (Latin A) and E (Latin E, I, O, and U).

In Teramo and Chieti we find only "E mute" (E) standing for all final unaccented vowels.

INITIAL CONSONANTS.

In dealing with initial consonants we must consider the position of the word in the sentence. At the beginning of a phrase or after a polysyllable we usually find what may be called normal development. After many monosyllables however we notice a re-enforcement of the initial consonant which usually results in gemination. The most important of these words are È (est), E (illi, illae), A (ad), PE (per), CHE (qui, quis, quod, etc.)

B.

Initial B remains, but is often confused with V, occasionally with P, and sometimes (especially in the provinces of Teramo, Chieti, and Molise) with M. Occasionally it disappears in unaccented syllables before U.

(Campobasso) BUÒNE; VÒCCA, bocca; VÒVE, bue; MAMMACIA, bambagia; MESCOTTE, biscotto.

(Alatri) BÒNO; BAMMACIA; VÒVE; VJATO, beato.

(Arpino) BUÒNO; VÒCCA; VJATO.

(Aquila) VÒCCA, BO', vuoi; BOTÉVA, poteva.

(Teramo) BARVE, barba; VÒVE; PESACCE, bisaccio; MESCOTTE, biscotto.

(Chieti) VESACCE, bisaccio; VARVE, barba; PICCHE, becco; MESCOTTE, biscotto; MAMMOCCE, MAMMACE, VAMMACCE, bambagia.

UCCÒNE, boccone, and UTTÒNE, bottone, are heard in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Molise, and Aquila.

When initial B is re-enforced it is regularly doubled.

CHÈ BBELLEZZA; A CCHÈ BBUONO?

BR initial remains or is confused with VR, sometimes with PR.

(Campobasso) BREJANTE, brigante; VRACCLA, braccia; VRÈCCIA, breccia.

(Alatri, Arpino, Naples, Aquila, Ascoli, Macerata) VRACCIA, braccia; VRÈCCIA, breccia; BRUNELLA, PRUNELLA.

(Teramo, Chieti) VRÈCCIE; VRÒCCHELE, broccole.

When re-enforced it becomes BBR.

CHÈ BBREJANTE, CHÈ BBRICANTE, chè brigante.

BL initial becomes J in Neapolitan, GGHI in Molise, BI in most of the provinces of Terra di Lavoro, Aquila, Chieti, Ascoli, and Macerata. It remains BL in a large part of the province of Teramo. When re-enforced it becomes GGHI in Naples and Molise (and the Southern part of Terra di Lavoro), BBI in most of the provinces of Terra di Lavoro, Aquila, Chieti, Ascoli, and Macerata, and BBL in a large part of Teramo.

(Naples) JANCO, bianco; È GGHIANCO, è bianco; JASTEMMA(RE), bestemmiare.

(Campobasso) GGHIANGHE (JANCO is probably a borrowing from the Neapolitan), bianco.

(Alatri, Arpino, Aquila, Chieti, Ascoli, Macerata) BIANCO, BIANGO; È BBIANCO, È BBIANGO; BIASTEMA(RE).

(Teramo) BLANGHE; È BBLANGHE; BLASTEMA(RE).

P.

Initial P remains.

PACE; PARLA(RE); PÈCURA; PASSO.

In PUTÈCA, PUTÈCHE P formerly intervocalic but becoming initial has remained. Cf. It. bodega.

In BIFERE, BBIFERE quoted by Finamore for Chieti we find an intervocalic development of P due without doubt to analogy with the noun SÒNABIFERE and to frequent use of the phrase SUNA(RE) LU BIFERE quoted by Finamore.

When re-enforced initial P becomes PP.

PR initial remains. Metathesis of an R final in the syllable or even belonging to the next syllable is possible, resulting in initial PR instead of simple P.

PRÈDECA; PRATO, PRATE; PRÈTA, PRÈTE, pietra.

Note.) In Neap. **PRÙBBECO**, pubblico, Ch. and Ter, **PRÙBBECHE**, we have metathesis of an R from original L.

When re-enforced initial PR often becomes PPR.

PL initial becomes **CHI** (KY) in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, and Molise. In the provinces of Latium, Ascoli, and Macerata, and most of Aquila we find **PI**. In Teramo we find both **PL** and **PI** (PY). In the province of Chieti we find **PR**, **PI** (PY), **CHI** (KY).

(Campobasso) **CHIANE**, piano; **CHIAGNE(RE)**, piangere; **CHIÈJA**, spiaggia.

(Naples) **CHIANO**; **CHIAGNE(RE)**; **CHIAJA**.

(Arpino) **CHIANO**; **CHIAGNE(RE)**; **CHIÙMMO**, piombo.

(Alatri) **PIANO**; **PIAGNE(RE)**; **PIÙMMO**; **PIÓVE**.

(Aquila) **PIANO**; **PIAGNE(RE)**; but **CHIÙ** by the side of **PIÙ**.

(Ascoli, Macerata) **PIANO**; **PIAGNE(RE)**; **PIÙ**.

(Teramo) **PIANE**, **PLANE**; **PIAGNE(RE)**, **PLAGNE(RE)**; **PIÙ**, **PLÙ**.

(Chieti) **PIANE**, **PLANE**, **PRANE**; **PIAGNE(RE)**, **PLAGNE(RE)**, **PRAGNE(RE)**; **PRAZZA**, **CHIÈZZA**; **CHIÙ**; **È CCHIÙ**.

F.

Initial **F** remains.

FACCE, **FACCLA**; **FURNA(RE)**; **FASTIDEJE**, **FASTIDIO**.

When re-enforced **F** initial usually becomes **FF**.

CHÈ FFAI?

FR initial remains or becomes **VR**. Often after **F** or **V** we have metathesis of an **R** originally final in the syllable or even belonging to the following syllable, resulting in initial **FR**, **VR** instead of **F** or **V**.

FRATE; **FRASCHE**; **FRAVECA**, fabbrica; **FREBBARE**, febbraio; **FRÈVA**, **FRÈVE**, **FRÈME**, febbre; **VROCCA**, forca; **VRECCIA**, freccia.

Note 1.) D'Ovidio notes **M PACCIA** (in *faccia*) for Campobasso.

Note 2.) **PRÒSPERO**, *fosforo*, is heard in Terra di Lavoro and Naples.

When re-enforced **FR** initial usually becomes **FFR**.

FL initial regularly becomes **SCI** in Naples, part of Terra di Lavoro, and Molise. It becomes **FI** in Latium, Aquila, Ascoli, and Macerata; **FL** or **FI** in Teramo; **FL**, **FR**, and **FI** in Chieti.

(Campobasso) **SCIUCCA(RE)**, *fioccare*; **SCIÒRE**, *fiore*.

(Naples) **SCIUCCA(RE)**; **SCIÒRE**; **SCIAMMA**, *fiamma*, **SCIÙME**, **SCIÙMMO**, *fiume*.

(Alatri) **FIUCCA(RE)**; **FIÒRE**; **FIAMMA**; **FIÙME**.

(Teramo) **FLÒRE**, **FIÒRE**; **FLAMME**, **FIAMME**.

(Chieti) **FLÒRE**, **FIAURE**; **FLAMME**, **FRAMME**; **FRÙMME**, *fiume*.

V.

Initial **V** usually remains, but is sometimes confused with **B**, especially when doubled. Before **O** (rarely before **I**) it may become **U** or disappear. In the provinces of Molise, Chieti, and Teramo it often appears as **M**, especially if there is a nasal in the following syllable.

(Campobasso) **VACCA**; **VILLA**; **CHÈ BBUE**, *che vuoi?* **ÓCE**, *voce*; **OLEPA**, *volpa*; **MENÍ(RE)**, *venire*.

(Teramo, Chieti) **VACCHE**; **VILLE**; **CHÈ BBUE?**; **MENÍ(RE)**; **HÒLBE**, **HÒLEPE**.

VR initial remains. Metathesis of an **R** originally final in the syllable or even belonging to the following syllable is frequent, the result being initial **VR**.

VRIOGNA, *vergogna*; **VRÍTO**, **VRÍTE**, *vetro*.

D.

Initial **D** becomes a voiced dental spirant or **R** in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, and Molise. In the Abruzzo of Aquila it may become a spirant or **R** or disappear

entirely. In the provinces of Macerata, Ascoli, Teramo, and Chieti it usually remains, though sometimes weakened.

(Campobasso) *ḐICE(RE)*, *RICE(RE)*; *ḐA'*, *RA'*, *da*.

(Naples) *ḐICE(RE)*; *RICE(RE)*; *ḐA'*, *RA'*.

(Arpino) *RICE(RE)*; *ḐONGO*, *do*; *RIE'*, *ḐIE'*, *diede*.

(Aquila, Avezzano) *ICO*, *RICO*, *ḐICO*.

(Teramo, Chieti, Ascoli, Macerata) *ḐICE(RE)*; *DÁ(RE)*.

Note 1.) The tendency towards the spirant or R extends as far as Terracina, Frosinone, and Alatri. Rieti and Norcia show a tendency towards the disappearance of initial D.

Note 2.) Teramo and Chieti present some forms with T. *DALEFINE*, *TALEFINE*, *delfino*.

Note 3.) When re-enforced initial D usually remains, and is sometimes doubled.

DR initial is kept.

DRUGARÍA, *DRUGARÉJE*; *DRAPPARÍA*, *DRAP-PARÉJE*.

T.

Initial T remains. When re-enforced it is sometimes doubled.

TAVULA, *TAVELE*; *TAGLIA*, *TAJA*; *TŮ*; *E TTŮ*.

Note.) Finamore notes *CHIŮRTA*, *torta*; *CIAMBANE*, *tafano*; *CESTŮNIJA*, *testuggine*, as co-existent with the regular forms.

TR initial remains.

TROJA; *TRATTÁ(RE)*.

Note.) The form *RETĚLLA*, *trottola*, is noted by Parodi for Arpino.

L.

Initial L remains in most of the territory. However in the provinces of Terra di Lavoro and Aquila and occasionally in those of Teramo and Chieti it develops a palatal quality shown by the spelling LJ. This sometimes further develops into J (Y) which in pretonic syllables combines with a fol-

lowing E, O, or U, then disappears, leaving initial I instead of the original vowel.

LŪNA, LJŪNA, JŪNA; (U)LEVĒTO, LJEVĒTO, IVĒTO; LUCĒRTA, LJUCĒRTA, ICĒRTA.

Note 1.) This development is most regular in the vicinity of Arpino, though we may also note Teramano JŪJJE (lolium).

Note 2.) RIALE, leale, noted by Ceci for Alatri, is probably influenced by, or confused with REALE (regalem).

M.

Initial M remains.

MARE; MĪLO, MĪLE, melo; MANO, MANE.

Note.) When re-enforced it is doubled.

A MMĒ; A MMORTE.

MB, MV, NV becoming initial become MM.

MMASCIATA, MMASCIATE, ambasciata; MMITA-(RE), invitare.

MBL becoming initial usually becomes MBI. MBR becoming initial remains.

MBIANCA(RE), imbiancare; MBRIACA(RE), umbriacare.

MM or NM becoming initial remains as MM.

MMERITARSE (inmeritare +se).

MP becoming initial remains in Naples but may become MB elsewhere.

MPALA(RE), MBALA(RE); MPĒGNO, MBĒGNE.

MPL becoming initial becomes NCHI in Naples, NCHI or NGHI in the province of Naples and most of Terra di Lavoro, NGHI in Molise and occasionally in Teramo and Chieti, MPI in most of Aquila, Ascoli, and Macerata, MBI in Teramo and Chieti and occasionally in Aquila, Ascoli, and Macerata.

(Campobasso) NGHIASTE, impiastro; NGHianta-(RE), impiantare.

(Naples) NCHIASTRO; NCHianta(RE).

(Arpino) **NCHIASTRO**; **NCHiantA(Re)**.

(Aquila, Alatri) **(I)MPIASTRO**; **(I)MPIANTA(Re)**.

(Teramo, Chieti) **MBIANTA(Re)**; **MBIANA(Re)**,
impianare; **NGHIASTRE**; **MPIASTRE**.

Note.) We also find **MPR**, **MBR**.

MPIEGA(Re), **MPREGA(Re)**, **MBREGA(Re)**.

N.

Initial **N** remains. When re-enforced it is usually doubled.

NASO, **NASE**; **NATURA**, **NATURE**; **NÙJE**, noi; **ANNÙJE**, a noi.

Note.) It disappears in **UN**, non.

NC becoming initial develops as Tuscan **NC** or becomes **NG**.

NCATENA(Re), **NGATENA(Re)**; **NCE**, **NGE**, non
c'è; **NCURABBELE**, **NGURABBELE**; **NGERATE**, in-
cerata.

NCL becomes **NCHI**, but in the provinces of Terra di
Lavoro, Aquila, Teramo, and Chieti we also find **NGHI**, **GN**.

NCHIOSTRO, **NGHIOSTRO**, **GNOSTRE**; **NCHIUVA-**
(Re), **NGHIUVA(Re)**, **inchiudere**.

NCR becoming initial may become **NGR**.

NCRESPA(Re), **NGRESPA(Re)**.

ND becoming initial remains if the word has been regarded
as a compound with the prefix **IN-**, otherwise it becomes **NN**.

NDERIZZO; **NDUVINO**; **NNOSTRIA**, industria;
NNOGLIA, **NNÙJE** (inductilem?).

NF becoming initial remains.

NFADÙSO, **NFADÙSE** (infadosum).

NFL becoming initial becomes **NFR** or **NFI**.

NFRAGRANTE, (inflagrantem); **NFIAMMA(Re)**.

NFR becoming initial remains.

NFRATTO.

NG becoming initial remains, the **G** developing as in Tuscan.

NGANNA(Re); **NGEGNARSE**.

NGR becoming initial remains.

NGRATO; NGRILLARSE.

NN becoming initial remains.

NNATO, NNATE, innato; NNAMURARSE.

NQU becoming initial remains in Naples, Macerata, and Ascoli; elsewhere it may become NGU.

NQUILINO, NGUILINE; NQUARTA(RE), NGU-ARTÀ(RE); NQUANTO, NGUANDO, NGUANDE.

NS becoming initial remains as NZ (written NS or NZ).

NSEGNA(RE), NZEGNÀ(RE); NSÚRDO, NZÚLDE, insulto.

NT becoming initial remains in Naples, Ascoli, and Macerata. Elsewhere it may become ND.

NTAGLIO, NTAJO, NDAGLIO, NDAJE; NTAMA(RE), NDAMA(RE).

NTR, NDR remain in Naples, Ascoli, and Macerata. Elsewhere they are usually confused, giving NDR.

(Naples) NTRUNÀ(RE), intronare; NTRUVULÀ(RE) (inturpidare); NDREA, Andrea.

(Teramo) NDRAVEDÉ(RE), intravedere; NDRÈJE, Andrea; NDRAPÌ(RE).

NV becoming initial becomes MM.

MMIT(T)À(RE), invitare; MMENTÀ(RE), inventare.

Note.) NV often remains in the provinces of Macerata, Ascoli, and the Northern part of Aquila.

R.

R initial generally remains. In the provinces of Macerata, Aquila, Ascoli, Teramo, Chieti, and Molise it is re-enforced and frequently develops a prefixed A-.

ROSA, ROSE; RE, RRE, ARRE.

Note.) In Naples it occasionally becomes L.

LÈBBRECA, replica; LEPRÙBBECA, repubblica.

Note 2.) In Arpino we occasionally find D.

DEMERIO, rimedio; DECREA(RE), ricriare.

S and X.

Initial S usually remains. When re-enforced it is generally doubled.

SÉRA; SÓLE; SÈMPE, SÈMPRE; SÈ; A SSR.

Note.) It occasionally becomes Z.

ZÓLFO (sulphur); ZUCA(RE), *sucare*.

X becoming initial gives SCI (S) in SCIAQUA(RE) (exaquare).

SB and XB becoming initial give SB, in which the S is slightly palatalized in part of the territory.

SBATTE(RE), SBATTE(RE).

SBR and XBR becoming initial remain as SBR, the S being slightly palatalized in part of the territory.

SBRUGLIA(RE), *disimbrogliare*; SBRIUGNA(RE), SBREVUGNA(RE), *svergognare*, (showing metathesis of R).

SC and XC before A, O, and U remain as SC (SK) in which the S is somewhat palatalized. The degree of palatalization varies much in different sections.

SCALA, SCALE; SCARPA, SCARPE; SCAPPA(RE).

SC and XC before E and I give SC (S) as in Tuscan.

SCETÀ(RE), (*excitare*); SCÈNNE(RE), *scendere*; SCÈSA, SCÈSE.

SCL becoming initial becomes SCHI (SKY).

SCHIAFFO, SCHIAFFE; SCHIUPPA(RE), *scopiare*; SCHIATTA(RE).

SCR and XCR becoming initial remain as SCR (SKR).

SCRIVE(RE); SCRETTURE; SCRÓPULO.

SD and XD becoming initial remain as SD, in which the S may be slightly palatalized.

SDEGNA(RE), SDEGNA(RE); SDUGANA(RE), SDUGANA(RE), *sdoganare*.

· SF and XF becoming initial remain as SF, in which the S may be palatalized.

SFOGLIA(RE), SFOJJA(RE); SFARZA(RE); SFORZA(RE).

SFL and XFL becoming initial give SCI or SFI in Naples, Terra di Lavoro, part of Aquila, and Molise; SFI in Macerata, Ascoli, and most of Aquila; and SFL or SFI in Teramo and Chieti.

(Naples) SCIANCA(RE), SFIANCA(RE); SCIATA(RE), SFIATA(RE).

(Ascoli) SFIANCA(RE); SFIATA(RE); SFIORI(RE).

(Teramo) SFLOCHE, SFIOCHE; SFLANGA(RE), SFIANGA(RE); SFLATA(RE), SFIATA(RE).

SFR and XFR becoming initial remain as SFR, the S being usually slightly palatalized.

SFRENA(RE); SFRATTO, SFRATTE.

SG and XG before A, O, and U remain as SG, the S being somewhat palatalized.

SGUMMA(RE).

SGR and XGR becoming initial remain as SGR.

SGRANA(RE); SGRAVA(RE).

SL and XL becoming initial remain as SL. Original SL initial developed into SCL, SCHI.

SLAVA(RE) (exlavare); SCLAVE, SCHIAVO (slavum).

SM and XM becoming initial remain as SM, the S being slightly palatalized.

SMANIA(RE); SMORZA(RE).

SP and XP becoming initial remain as SP, the S usually being palatalized.

SPALLA, SPALLE; SPANNE(RE).

SPL and XPL becoming initial result in SCHI, SBR, or SBI in Naples, Terra di Lavoro, and Molise; SPI, SPR, SPL in Ascoli, Macerata, and most of Aquila; and SBI, SBL,

SBR (occasionally **SPI**, **SPL**, **SPR**) in Teramo and Chieti. In all districts the **S** is usually somewhat palatalized.

SCHIANÀ(RE), spianare; **SCHIANTÀ(RE)**, **SPIANTÀ(RE)**; **SBRENNÒRE**, **SBIANNÒRE**, splendore; **SPIAZZA**, **SPIAZZE**.

SPR and **XPR** becoming initial remain as **SPR** or **SBR**, the **S** being slightly palatalized.

SPRUVARSE; **SBRUVARSE**.

ST and **XT** becoming initial remain as **ST**, in which the **S** is usually palatalized.

STÀ(RE); **STRACHINO**, **STRACHINE**.

SV and **XV** becoming initial give **SB** or **SV**.

SBANÌ(RE), **SVANÌ(RE)**; **SBENTÒRA**, **SVENTURA**.

Note.) In Ascoli, Macerata, and the Northern part of **Aquila** **SV** is more frequent than **SB**.

C.

Initial **C** before **A**, **O**, and **U** remains. When re-enforced it is usually doubled.

CAVÀ(RE); **CONTA**, **CONTE**; **CAJETANO**, **CAJETANE**; **A CCAJETANO**.

Note 1.) Finamore quotes examples of **QU**, before **A**.

QUAVALLE, cavallo; **QUASTÈLLE**, castello; **QUAFÈ**, caffè; **QUASTICHE**, castigo; **QUAPÈLLE**, cappello.

Initial **C** before **E** and **I** generally develops as in Tuscan.

CERCA(RE); **CITTA**, **CITA**; **CIMA**, **CIME**.

Note 1.) Finamore notes **CHJIERCHIE**, **CHJICHJIERCHIA**, cerchio; **CHIORMA**, ciurma; **CHIÒCHIA** in which we find **CH** (**K**).

CL initial appears as **CHI**, occasionally **CL** or **CR**.

CHIAVE; **CHIARO**, **CHIARE**; **CLEMENDINA**; **CRIMMA**, clima.

Note 1.) The words showing **CL** or **CR** are mostly patrician, though **CL** may be regular in Teramo.

Note 2.) When re-enforced initial CL becomes CCHI, CCL, or CR.

CR initial remains.

CRIJATÙRA, CRIJATURÈ; CROCE; E CROCE.

G.

G initial before A, O, and U generally remains in Naples, Terra di Lavoro, most of Aquila, Macerata, and Ascoli, but usually disappears in Teramo, Chieti, and Molise except after words which call for the doubling of the initial consonant. In accented syllables the vowel becoming initial develops a Y or H before it.

(Naples) GAMMA, gamba; GÜMMA; GAMMARO, AMMARO.

(Campobasso) JAMMA; JÜMMA; JAMMERE, JAMMARE.

(Chieti) HAMMA, JAMMA; HÜMMA; HÜMME; HAMMERE, JAMMERE.

G initial before E and I usually becomes J, but we often find G. When re-enforced it becomes G or GG.

(Naples) GEMIELLO; GENTE, JÈNTE; GENNERO, JENNERO.

(Campobasso) JELATE; JENNERE, JÈNNARE; E GGÈNERE.

(Teramo) JELA(RE); JETTA(RE); JÈNNERE.

Note.) JE GGHIELATE (pl.) (Campobasso) is probably due to analogy with JACCIO, JACCE (glaciers) which is regularly GGHIACCIO after a word which calls for the doubling of the initial consonant.

GL initial regularly becomes J or GLI (rarely GHI), but GGHI after a word which calls for the doubling of the initial consonant.

JACCIO; E GGHIACCE; GLIANDRA; E GGHIANDRE.

GN (Lat. NY) becoming initial develops as Tuscan GN.
GNOPATE, signor padre; GNÒRE, signore.

Note.) Teramo presents GNAGNE(RE), piangere; GNUTTUNÍ(RE), divenire ghiotto, which are interesting.

GR initial may remain or become R. After a word which calls for the doubling of the initial consonant we find GR, GGR.

GRAZIA, RAZIA, RAZEJE; GRATO, RATO; GRAT-TA(RE), RATTÀ(RE); NU GRANO, NU RANO; TRE GRANE, TRE GGRANE.

J and DI.

Latin J and DI (DY) initial become J. When re-enforced they give GGI, GGHI.

JÚSTO; È GGIÚSTO, È GGHIÚSTO; JETTA(RE); JETTATÓRA.

Note.) This tendency is noted as far as Alatri, Guarcino, Fara, Rieti, Terni, Todi, Camerino, Matelica, Fabriano, Arcevia, and Recanati.

QU.

Latin QU generally remains before A. Before other vowels it usually becomes C, CH (K) except in patrician and learned words. When re-enforced it becomes CQU, CCH (KK).

(Naples) QUASE; QUAGLIO; CHISTO, CHÈSTA; QUIBUS.

(Campobasso) QUANDE; QUISTE, CHISTE, CHÈSTA; CACCHE, QUACCHE, qualche.

(Chieti) CANDE, QUANDE; QUATRE; QUÈRCE, CÈRCA, CÈRQUA (showing metathesis).

(Teramo) QUANNE; QUATTRE; CACCHE, qualche; CÈRQUE, quercia.

Note.) From the foregoing examples it is seen that we often find C, CH before A and QU before other vowels.

MEDIAL CONSONANTS.

B.

Intervocalic B may give B, BB, V, P, M, MM. The normal results are BB and V. B and P occur most frequently in Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Ascoli, and Macerata and M, MM in Molise, Chieti, and Teramo.

(Naples) **ABBELE**, abile; **ABELITA**; **SAPETO**, **SABBETO**, sabato; **ABETO**, abito.

(Camp.) **CARVÙGNE**, carbonchio; **ABBELE**; **ABBETE**.

(Chieti) **ABBETE**; **ABBÙSO**; **JIPPONE**, giubbone; **AMMARCA(RE)**, abarcare; **AMMUCA(RE)**, aboccare; **FRÈME**, febbre; (cf. Neap.) **FRÈVA**).

(Teramo) **LIBBERTA**; **NOBBLE**; **FRÈME**.

Note.) In the Abruzzi of Teramo and Chieti and part of Molise the B intervocalic of the Imperfect Indicative has become a simple aspirate.

FACIAHAME, facevamo; **CANTAHAME**, cantavamo.

BR and BL intervocalic usually become BBR.

CELEBBRA(RE); **LÌBBRE**; **UBBRICA(RE)**, obbligare.

Note 1.) In Campobasso we find **NEGGHIA** and in Naples **NEGLIA** co-existent with the less common **NÈBBLA** (nebula).

Note 2.) **FRAVECA(RE)**, fabbricare; **FRÈVA**, **FRÈME**, febbre; **PRUBBECA(RE)**, pubblicare, show metathesis as a result of which we have intervocalic B which then develops along the lines already noted.

BI and BBI intervocalic become GGI, J, GGHI. The normal development for Naples and Terra di Lavoro is GGI, although J occurs, and occasionally GGHI. The normal development for Molise and the Abruzzi is J, although GGI frequently occurs, and GGHI occasionally.

(Naples) **RAGGIA**; **CAGGIA**; **AGGIO**; **MANAGGIA**, **MANAJA**.

(Camp.) **(AR)RAJA**; **CAJOLA**; **AJE**; **SUGGÈTTE**, **SUGGITO**.

(Guarcino) (AR)RAJA; AJO; AGGIO.

(Mogliano) (AR)RAGGHLA, (AR)RAJA; AGGHIO.

P.

P intervocalic usually remains except in the provinces of Teramo and Chieti where it may become PP, BB, or V.

(Naples) ACCUPA(RE); CUPERTO; CAPEPUOSTO.

(Chieti) CAPEPOPOLE; OPPENEJONE; DESCRIBELE, discipolo; NABBELE, Napoli; ARECUVERA(RE), ricuperare; CUVERTA.

PP intervocalic usually remains.

CAPPELLUTO, CAPPELLUTE; APPURTA(RE).

PI, PPI, DPI intervocalic usually become CCI, occasionally GGI. (In borrowed words we may find PPI).

SACCIO, SACCE; SECCIA, SECCE; ASSAGGIA(RE).

PL, PPL, DPL intervocalic may become CCHI, PPI, PPL, PPEL, PPR, or BBR.

The development into CCHI is most common in compounds and usually represents PL initial in the uncompounded word. This development is found in the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, and Molise, and the Southern parts of Aquila and Chieti.

ACCHIANA(RE), appianare; ACCHIANTA(RE), appiantare. ACCOCCHIA(RE), ACCOPPIA(RE); COCCHIA, COPPIA.

The development into PPL, PPEL is almost entirely confined to the provinces of Teramo and Chieti.

APPLANÀ(RE); ACCUPPELA(RE), accoppiare.

The forms showing PPR, BBR are widespread and are often co-existent with those showing other developments.

ACCUPPRA(RE); APPRANA(RE); ALLÈBBRECA, replica.

PR, PPR intervocalic remain or become BBR.

CUPRÌ(RE); LÈPRE, LÈBBRE; APRÌLE, ABBRÌLE.

PS becomes SS as in Tuscan.

ISSO, ÈSSA; SCRISSE.

PT becomes TT as in Tuscan.

ADDUTTA(RE); SCRITTO, SCRITTE.

F.

Intervocalic F usually remains.

CAFONE, CAFONE.

FF, DF intervocalic usually remain as FF.

CAFFÉ; AFFUCA(RE), affogare; AFFIDÀ(RE).

FL and FFL (DFL) intervocalic become SCI, FFR, FFI, FFL.

The development into SCI is limited to the provinces of Naples, Molise, and parts of Terra di Lavoro, Aquila, and Chieti.

(Campobasso) SCIUSCIA(RE) (which shows also assimilation of the initial consonant of *sufflare*).

(Naples, Camp.) ASCIA(RE) (adflare).

The other developments are found throughout the territory.

(Naples) AFFREZIONE, AFFLEZIONE; AFFIAMMA-
(RE).

(Teramo) AFFLITTE; AFFLA(RE); AFFIANGHE,
AFFLANGHE.

FR, FFR, (DFR) remain.

ADDEFRESCÀ(RE), rinfrescare; AFFRÒNTO, AF-
FRÒNTE; AFFRANCÀ(RE), AFFRANGA(RE).

V.

Intervocalic V usually remains. It occasionally disappears, especially when adjacent to U. In the provinces of Teramo, Chieti, and Molise we occasionally find M.

ADDEVENTA(RE); ADDUVINA(RE); ARRUINA-
(RE).

(Teramo, Chieti, Campobasso) (A)RIMENI(RE), rivenire.

VV (DV) intervocalic usually becomes BB.

ABBIA(RE), avviare; **ABBALLE**, avvalle; **ABBIENTO**, avvento.

Note.) Occasionally we find **MM** in Teramo, Chieti, and Molise.

AMMENI(RE), avvenire.

D.

Intervocalic **D** may remain, or become a voiced dental spirant, or a weak **R**, or it may lose its voice and become **T**, or it may lose its force still more and become a very indistinct sound designated by **V**, or it may disappear entirely. On the other hand it may become **DD**.

In most of the provinces of Naples, Terra di Lavoro, Aquila, and Molise, the usual development is into a dental spirant or **R** before the accent, and into **T** after the accent. This cannot however be stated as a phonetic law.

(Naples) **ACCAÐÉ(RE)**; **ADDÈDECA**; **MARONNA**, **MAÐONNA**; **ACCARÉMLA**, **ACCAÐEMLA**; **AFFERÁ(RE)**, **AFFEDÁ(RE)**; **CATAVERE**; **GRATETÓTENE**; **STÓPETO**, stupido; **FRÁCETO**, fradicio; **PARAVÍSO**, paradiso; **AUNÍ(RE)**, adunire; **AORNÁ(RE)**, adornare; **ADDÓRE**, odore; **CRÈDETO**, **CRÈDETO**, **CRÈRETO**, **CRÈDDETO**.

In Macerata, Ascoli, Teramo, and Chieti the more common development is into **D** before the accent, and **T** after the accent.

SUDÁ(RE); **HUDÉ(RE)**, **JUDÉ(RE)**, godere; **NÓTE**, nudo; **PÈTE**, piede; **RÍTE(RE)**, ridere.

Note.) Notable exceptions are Neapolitan **TIÈPULO**, tepido; Terra di Lavoro **ARPÍNO** (Elpidium); Teramano **FRACECHE** (Neap.) **FRACETO**.

DR intervocalic usually remains, but in Neapolitan it may become **TR**.

ALESSANDRO, **ALESSANTRO**; **CUCCUDRILLO**, **CUCCUTRILLO**.

Note.) In **CUCCUDRILLO**, etc., we note metathesis.

DD intervocalic usually remains.

ADDÓ(VE); ADDEFFENNE(RE).

DI, DJ intervocalic become GGHI, J, GGI, DI, or DDI. GGHI rarely appears except in compounds representing Latin AD- + J initial.

AGGHIUDECA(RE); AGGHIÓGNE(RE), *aggiungere*; AGGHIUSTA(RE).

J is the regular intervocalic development for popular words.

AP(P)OJA(RE), *appoggiare*; AP(P)ÓJO; ÚJE, *oggi*.

The forms showing GGI are probably borrowed, while those showing DI, DDI are patrician.

AP(P)OGGIA(RE); GUARDIA; CUMMÉDIA, CUM-MEDDIA.

Note.) MIEZO, MÈZA show Z.

DM intervocalic becomes MM.

AMMUBIGLIA(RE); AMMIRA(RE); AMMERETA-(RE).

DN intervocalic becomes NN.

ANNÚDO; ANNUMERA(RE); ANNOTA(RE).

T.

Intervocalic T usually remains, even where it has become D in Tuscan.

STRATA, STRATE (STRADA is probably borrowed); SPATA, SPATE, etc.

Note 1.) Occasionally we find a weak voiceless velar.

VUMECA(RE), *vomitare*; VOMECO, VOMECHÉ.

Note 2.) Finamore also notes DÓDDA, *dote*; PATANA, *patata*; RÍZZA, *rete (retia?)*; RÓCELE, *rotolo*. SCHIA-MAZZA(RE), *scamatare*, is common to most of the territory.

TR intervocalic may remain or become T. In the provinces of Macerata, Ascoli, Teramo, and most of Chieti and Aquila it usually remains unless the R is misplaced by metathesis (as in PRETA, *pietra*). Forms showing DR may be Tuscan borrowings.

MATRE; PATRE; LATRE, LATRO.

It usually becomes T in Neapolitan, and frequently in Terra di Lavoro, Molise, and Southern Aquila and Chieti.

MATE; PATE; LATE, LATRE, LATRO; PATINO, PATRINO.

TT and TU intervocalic become TT.

ATTENÉ(RE); BATTE(RE).

TY intervocalic may become Z, ZZ, ZI, ZZI, SCI, or GI.

ABBIZIA(RE), avviziare; ACCAREZZA(RE); AGGRAZIA(RE); AMICIZIA; APPREZZA(RE); ACCURTEZZA; ASSULUZIONE; STASCIÓNE, STAGIÓNE.

L

Intervocalic L usually remains, but occasionally appears as R.

ABBELE; UCCHIALE, UCCHIARE, occhiale.

LL intervocalic remains.

ABBALLO, ABBALLE, a valle; ALLARIA(RE).

LB intervocalic may be confused with RB.

ALBA, ARBA; ALBERO, ARBERO.

LC intervocalic before A, O, and U often becomes RC, sometimes RG.

SÓRCO; BALCÓNE, BARCÓNE, BARGÓNE.

LC intervocalic before E and I may develop in Neapolitan into UC (in which the C has the sound of Roman C before E and I) and then lose its U after O or U. In the Abruzzi of Teramo and Chieti we find GG, GGI.

ADDUCÍ(RE), addolcire; DOCE, dolce; CAUCE, CAGGE, calce; FAUCE, FAGGE, falce.

Note.) In Molise we may find UC retained after O in an accented penult.

ÐOUCÉ, ROUCÉ.

LD intervocalic may become RD or UD in Naples, Molise, most of Terra di Lavoro, and parts of Aquila and Chieti. Elsewhere it becomes LL as in Roman.

FARDA, FAUDA, FALLA; CAUDO, CARDO, CALLO, CALLE.

LG intervocalic develops as in Tuscan. Occasionally we find RG.

LNE intervocalic develops as in Tuscan. **BAGNO, BAGNE.**

LM intervocalic may become MM. **AMMÉNO, almeno.**

LP intervocalic may become RP or UP (LEP, LB in the Abruzzi of Teramo and Chieti).

NCURPA(RE), NGULPA(RE) (inculpare); **ASSARPA(RE); VORPE, HÖLBE, HÖLEPE,** volpe.

LS intervocalic may become RZ or UZ (ZZ in the Abruzzi of Teramo and Chieti).

FARZO, FAUZO, FAZZE, falso; **BARZEMO, BAZZEME,** balsamo; **PÜRZO, PÜZO, PÜZZO,** polso.

LT intervocalic may become UT, T, RT, RD (DD in the Abruzzi of Teramo and Chieti).

AUTARE, altare; **ARTÉZZA, AUTÉZZA; RISARDO,** risalto; **VÖTA,** volta; **ÜRDEMO, ÜDDEME,** ultimo; **VÖDDE,** volta.

LTI, LTY intervocalic may become IZ or UZ.

AIZA(RE), alzare; **AUZO** (altius).

LTR intervocalic may become T, UT, UTR (NDR in Teramo and Chieti).

ATO, AUTO, AUTRO, ANDRE, altro.

LV intervocalic may become RV (except in Teramo and Chieti where LV usually remains).

ASSORVE(RE), ASSOLVE(RE); PÖRVA, PÖLVE.

LY, LE, LI intervocalic becomes J, JJ (Y, YY) in most of Macerata, Ascoli, Teramo, Chieti, and Aquila; GLI (LY) in Naples, Molise, and most of Terra di Lavoro.

MÉJO, MEJJE, MÉGLIO; BATTAJA, BATTAJE, BATTAGLIA.

Note.) Under L and L-combinations Finamore notes:
ATRE, AVETRE, AITE, AITRE, AUTE, AUTRE, altro;
SCUTA(RE), ascoltare; **CAPESTA(RE)**, calpestare;
CÔTE, colto; **DÔCE, DÔLGE**, dolce; **PÔCE**, polce; **ÛTEME**,
ÛDDEME, ultimo; **CÂCCHÉ**, qualche; **CÂLGE**, calce;
FÂLZE, falso; **ÂLDARE, ÂRDARE**, altare; **PULDRONA**,
 poltrona; **CÂRZETTA**, calzetta; **SÊNARE**, segnale; **ÂRDO**,
ÂVETE, alto; **VÔLDE**, volta; **CURTÊLLE**, coltello.

M.

Intervocalic M usually remains, and is often doubled.

ÂNEMA; ÂMMÔRE; NÂNAMURÂTO, NÂNAMMURÂTO.

MM, DM remain as **MM**.

ÂMMETTE(RE); ÂMMÂLINCUNÎRSE.

MB intervocalic becomes **MM**.

GÂMMÂ, HÂMMÂ, gamba; **ÂMMÂSCIÂ**, ambascia;
BOMMÂ, BOMME, bomba; **CUMMÂTE(RE)**, combattere.

MBI intervocalic becomes **GN (NY)**.

CÂGNÂ(RE); SCÂGNO, SCÂGNE.

MP intervocalic may remain or be confused with **MB**.

ÂBBÂMPÂ(RE), avvampare; **ÂCCÂMPÂ(RE)**, **ÂC-**
CÂMBÂ(RE); CÂMPO, CÂMBO.

MPL intervocalic may become **MPR, MBR, MPL, MBL**,
 or **MPI**.

MPR, MBR are the usual developments except in Teramo
 and Chieti where we find **MPL, MBL**. The forms showing
MPI are probably influenced by the Tuscan.

CUMBRIMIENTO, CUMPRIMIENTO, CUMPLI-
MENTE, CUMBLIMËNDE; ÂSSEMPIÂ; COMBLÔTE,
CUMBRÔTE, CUMPLÔTE.

Note.) **JEGNE(RE)** (implere) shows **GN**.

MPR intervocalic usually remains before the accent, but
 may become **MP** after the accent, especially in the vicinity
 of Naples.

ÂMPRÊSÂ, impresa; SÊMPRE, SÊMPE.

MN intervocalic becomes NN as in Tuscan.

DANNA(RE).

Note.) Finamore quotes examples of M becoming N.

NŪSCA, musca; NA, come; TIJANE, (tegamen);
PANDUMINE.

N.

N intervocalic usually remains. It may be doubled.

ANEMA; ANŌRE, ANNŌRE, onore.

NB intervocalic usually becomes MM.

IMMOCHE, in bocca.

NC intervocalic before A, O, and U remains in the city of Naples, but is confused with NG in the rest of the territory.

AMMANCA(RE), AMMANGA(RE); JANCO, JANGO.

NC intervocalic before E and I becomes NC or NZ in Naples. Elsewhere it becomes NG.

ABBENCE(RE), ABBENG(E)RE, vincere; PANZA, PANCLA, PANGLA.

ND intervocalic becomes NN.

QUANNO, QUANNE, quando; ABBANNUNA(RE);
ABBUNNA(RE), abbondare.

NF intervocalic remains, or becomes MB (especially in Teramo, Chieti, and Molise).

CUNFERMA(RE), CUMBERMA(RE); CUNFESSA-
(RE), CUMBESSA(RE).

NG intervocalic before A, O, and U generally remains.

ALLUNGA(RE); LUNGO.

NG intervocalic before E and I usually becomes GN (NY), sometimes NG as in Literary Tuscan.

PLAGNE(RE), PRAGNE(RE), CHIAGNE(RE); AS-
TRIGNE(RE); ANGÈLECO.

Note.) By analogy we have CHIAGNO, etc., in verba.

NP intervocalic usually gives MP in Naples, MB elsewhere.
IMPIETTO, IMBETTE, in petto.

NQU intervocalic remains in Naples, but usually becomes **NGU** elsewhere.

CINQUE, CINGUE.

NS intervocalic remains or becomes **NZ**.

ACCUNSENTÍ(RE); PENZA(RE); NZENZATO, NZENZATE.

NT intervocalic usually remains in Naples, but elsewhere it is confused with **ND**.

ACCANTO, ACCANDO; QUANTO, QUANDO, QUÁNDE.

NTR intervocalic may become **NT, ND**, especially after the accent.

DÍNTO, DÍNDO, DÍNDE, dentro.

Note.) In Teramo and Chieti we find **NDR. DÈNDRE.**

NTY, NTE, NTI intervocalic become **NZ (NDZ).**

ACCELLÈNZA; AMINÈNZA, eminenza; ANZE, anzi.

NV intervocalic becomes **MM**.

BEMMENÙTO, benvenuto; AMMENTÀ(RE), inventare.

R.

R intervocalic remains.

CÙRA, CÙRE; PÌRO, pero; PÈRA.

Note.) Final **-RE** of the Infinitive is usually dropped.

AMÀ(RE); PÈRDE(RE).

RR intervocalic remains.

ACCÒRRE(RE).

RB intervocalic remains.

ARBORE, ARBERO, albero.

RC intervocalic before **A, O, and U** generally remains in Naples, but is confused elsewhere with **RG**.

BARCA, BARGA; FURCHÈTTA, FURGHÈTTA, FURGHÈTTE.

RC intervocalic before **E and I** may develop as in Tuscan, or become **RZ**.

MARCLA, MARZA; PERZO, per ciò.

RD intervocalic usually remains.

ACCURDÁ(RE); ABBUÓRDO, ABBÓRDE.

FR intervocalic remains. SCARFÁ(RE).

RG intervocalic before A, O, and U may remain or become RI.

LARGO, LARIO; ALLARGA(RE), ALLARIA(RE).

RG before E and I develops as in Tuscan.

SÓRGE(RE).

RL intervocalic usually remains. PARLÁ(RE).

RM intervocalic usually remains. ALLARME.

RN intervocalic usually remains.

ATÈRNO, eterno; ATTUÓRNO, ATTÓRNE.

RP intervocalic usually remains, but may become RB.

CUÓRPO, CÒRPE, CUÓRBO, CÒRBE.

RS intervocalic may become RZ.

ARZÈNICO; ARZO, ARZE, arso.

RT intervocalic usually remains in Naples, but is elsewhere confused with RD.

SPIRITO, SPÍRDE; ACCERTA(RE), ACCERDÁ(RE); ACCUÓRTO, ACCÒRDE.

Note.) As metathesis of R is very frequent and often occurred early we often find R combinations reducing and then developing as if there had been no original R in that combination. Metathesis usually results in shifting the R towards the beginning of the word.

PRÈTA, pietra; PRÈVULA, PRÈHULA, pergola; TRUMMENDÁ(RE), tormentare; VRIOGNA, VRE-VOGNA, vergogna.

When two R's occur in the same word one is frequently changed to L by dissimilation.

CULECÁRSE, coricarse; VELARDÍNE, Berardino.

S.

S intervocalic usually remains. It is seldom fully voiced and therefore is occasionally confused with **SS**. It is often palatalized, especially in words beginning with **C**, **CH**, and **QU**.

ABBUSA(RE); **AMUSA(RE)**, **AMMUSSA(RE)**; **QUASE, QUASCE**; **CUSÌ, CUSCÌ**; **ACCUSÌ, ACCUSCÌ**.

SS intervocalic usually remains, but may be palatalized.

FÒSSA, FÒSSE; **TÒSSA, TÒSSE**; **CASSÈTTA, CAS-
CÈTTA**; **ABBASCIO**; **RÙSSO, RÙSCE**.

Note.) In **POZZO** (possum) we find **ZZ** (poteo?).

SC before **A**, **O**, and **U** remains. The **S** may be palatalized. **ABBUŠCÀ(RE)**; **AFFUŠCÀ(RE)**, offuscare.

SC before **E** and **I** generally develops as in Tuscan. **CANÓSCÈ(RE)**, conoscere.

ST intervocalic remains, the **S** being somewhat palatalized. **ABBAŠTÀ(RE)**; **ACCUSTÀ(RE)**, accostare.

STR intervocalic often becomes **ST**, especially after the accent. The **S** is usually somewhat palatalized.

MASTO, maestro; **(I)NCHIAŠTO**.

SY, SE, SI intervocalic usually become **S** with little or no palatalization.

CERÀSO (ceraseum), **VÀSO**, bacio.

C.

Intervocalic **C** before **A**, **O**, and **U** generally remains.

ÀCO, ÀCHE, ago; **LUÒCO, LUÒCHE**, luogo.

Intervocalic **C** before **E** and **I** develops as in Roman.

DICE, RICE, ICE; **ABBECENÀ(RE)**, avvicinare.

CC before **A**, **O**, and **U** generally remains.

ACCASIÓNE, occasione; **ACCÀDE(RE)**.

CC before **E** and **I** becomes **ZZ** or **CC**, **CCI**.

AZZETTA(RE), accettare; **ACCIDÈNTE, ACCIDÈNDE**.

**CL, CCL (DCL) develop as in Tuscan into CCHI.
MACCHIA; UOCCHIO, UCCHIE.**

CR intervocalic usually remains. It may be confused with GR.

LACREME, LAGREME; SACRATA(RE), SAGRATA-(RE), bestemmiare.

CT intervocalic becomes TT as in Tuscan.

FATTO; TITTO, TÄTTE, tetto.

CTE, CTI intervocalic become ZZ or ZI.

ARRIZZÄ(RE) (adrectiare?); BENEDIZIONE.

CY, CE, CI intervocalic become CCI or ZZ.

FACCIA, FACCE, FAZZA, FAZZE; FRECCIA, FREZZA.

G.

Intervocalic G before A, O, and U may appear as G, C, V, H, J, or disappear.

The developments into G, C, and V are primarily Neapolitan, but are also to be noted in Terra di Lavoro, Aquila, Macerata, and Ascoli.

BRIGANTE, BRICANTE; STREGA, STRECA; TÈCULA; STRÒLACO; SPAVO, spago; PAVÄ(RE), PACA(RE), PAGA(RE).

The development into J belongs especially to Molise.

PRÈJELA, PRÈJULA (Neap. PRÈVULA), pergola; FATEJA(RE), (CASTECA(RE) and LETECA(RE), found in this district, may be borrowings from Neapolitan).

The development into H is regular in Teramo and Chieti.

FEHÖRE, figura; MAHE, mago.

G intervocalic before E and I may become J (Y) or GGI.

LÈJE(RE), LÈGGE(RE); PROJE(RE), porgere; PAJÈSE, PAJÈISE; PAGGENA.

Note.) The forms showing GG may be patrician.

GGL intervocalic may become GGHI.

AGGHIAJA(RE), agghiacciare.

GN usually develops as Italian **GN** (**NY**). In Molise we often find **JEN**.

LÈGNA, LÈJENA; PÙGNO, PÙJENE; AGNIÈLLO, AJENIÈLLE.

GR intervocalic may become **CR, GR, or R.**

ACRO; TELÈCRAFO; ANNEGRÌ(RE), ANNERÌ(RE); ALLERAMENTE, allegramente; VERBEGRAZIA, VERBERAZEJA.

GGR, DGR intervocalic become **GGR.**

AGGRAZIA(RE); AGGRAVARSE.

J.

Intervocalic **J** usually remains instead of becoming **GGI** as in Tuscan. It may be doubled.

MAJO, MAJE, maggio; PEJO, PEJE, PEJJE, peggio.

J frequently appears as an hiatus-breaker, especially in Molise.

VERBERAZEJA; ANTÒNEJE, Antonio.

Note.) In Neapolitan **PÈVO** (pejus) we find **V** for **J**.

FINAL CONSONANTS have disappeared. **S** in accented syllables has, however, left a trace, appearing as **I, E, JE.**

NÙI, NÙE, NÙJE, noi; VÙI, VÙE, VÙJE, voi.

CHAPTER III.¹

¹Open E and O are indicated by the grave accent (`), close E and O by the acute ('). Where no accent is shown the pronunciation of the accented vowel has been noted to vary between open and close. Palatal S is shown by Š. Indistinct vowels are shown as A, E, O, etc.

NEAPOLITAN.

TONIC VOWELS.

A.

Tonic A remains.

PATE, padre; SARVA(RE), salvare; MMACULATA, immacolata.

E (Open).

Tonic open E generally remains unless the vowel of the final Latin syllable was I or O (U), under which conditions it becomes IÈ.

Examples of the persistence of tonic open E: GALLE-NELLA; FRAVULÈLLA, fragoletta; APÈRTA; CÈRTA.

Examples of diphthongization: GALLENIELLO; FRUS-CIAMIENTO; FRATIELLO; APIÈRTO; CIÈRTO.

In hiatus tonic open E becomes I as in Tuscan.

MIO; MIA.

E (Close).

Tonic close E remains unless the vowel of the final Latin syllable was I or O (U), under which conditions it becomes I.

NIRO, NÈRA; CHÌSTO, CHÈSTA, CHÌSTE (m. pl.), CHÈSTE (f. pl.); PÌRO, pero; PÈRA; MÌLO, melo; MÈLA.

Note.) It will be seen from the last two of the foregoing examples that the form MÈLU(M) for MALUM must have been quite early.

I.

Tonic I remains.

FINE; FILO; FILA; LINO.

O (*Open*).

Tonic open O generally remains unless the vowel of the final Latin syllable was I or O (U), under which conditions it becomes UÒ.

**NUOVO, NÓVA; PUÒRTO, PÒRTA; UOVO, ÒVA;
UÓSSO, ÒSSA; CÒRE, (Sing.), CUÓRE (pl.).**

In hiatus it becomes U.

PUÈTA.

O (*Close*).

Tonic close O remains unless the vowel of the final Latin syllable was I or O (U), under which conditions it becomes U.

**NNUSTRIÙSO, NNUSTRIÓSA, industrioso, -a; NFU-
MÙSO, NFUMÓSA, collerico, -a; NFAMÓNE.**

TESTEMMÓNIO, is probably patrician.

In hiatus with I from -S final in accented syllables it forms the combination -ÙJE.

NÙJE; VÙJE.

In hiatus with -O (U) it forms -ÙJO, and with -A it forms -ÒJA.

SÙJO, SÒJA, suo, sua.

U.

Tonic U remains.

ÙNNECE, undici; STÙFA; CÙRA.

PRETONIC VOWELS.

INITIAL.

Initial unaccented vowels tend to disappear. This is because in Neapolitan the final vowels are usually kept, although somewhat slighted, and the resultant hiatus in connected discourse has led to a weakening and final disappearance of the initial vowel. A and U seem to have resisted this tendency to fall much better than other vowels.

PRETONIC INITIAL A.

Pretonic initial A usually remains.

AMMÒRE; AFFÀRE.

It falls in **NATOMÌA**, anatomia; **STRÒLACO**, astrologo; **STROLABIO** (astrolabium).

Sometimes A appears instead of other pretonic initial vowels.

ASTRÈMO (extremum); **ASEMPIO** (exemplum); **AD-DIOTA**, idota; **ANCHÌ(RE)** (implere); **ACCÌDE(RE)** (occidere); **ACCASIÒNE** (occasionem); **ASSURPA(RE)** (usurpare).

Sometimes two forms exist side by side.

ATERNITA, ETERNITA; ACCELLÈNTE, ECCEL-LÈNTE; ACCHIALE, ACCHIARE, UCCHIALE, occhiale; **ACCASIÒNE, UCCASIÒNE.**

The forms with A- are probably plebeian while those which retain the general character of the Latin vowel are patrician.

Sometimes A becomes initial by the disappearance of the initial consonant (usually G-).

ALLÌNA, GALLÌNA; ALLO, GALLO; AMMARO, GAMMARO, gambero. It will be noted that the forms with and without G- are coexistent.

Compounds with A+ a consonant (Latin AD-) are common.

ADDÒ, dove; **ABBASTANTE; ACCANÒSCE(RE); AMMANCA(RE); ANNASCUOSTO, ANNASCÙSO**, di nascosto.

PRETONIC INITIAL E.

Pretonic initial E is usually lost. Sometimes there are two existing forms, showing plebeian and patrician development.

TICHÈTTA, ETICHÈTTA; VANGELO, EVANGELO.

It remains in words which were used only by the educated.

ECONUMO; ELEVAZIÒNE; EMBRÈMA, emblema; **EQUIPAGGIO; ERUDIZIÒNE.**

It sometimes becomes A-. For examples v. PRETONIC INITIAL A.

PRETONIC INITIAL I.

Pretonic initial I usually falls except in the vocabulary of the educated. Sometimes two forms are coexistent.

IMPIEGO, MPIEGO; INCANTO, NCANTO; INTRATA, NTRATA.

It sometimes becomes A-. For examples v. **PRETONIC INITIAL A.**

PRETONIC INITIAL O.

Pretonic initial O usually becomes U.

UBBERIENZA, ubbidienza; **UBBRICAZIONE**, obbligazione; **UCCHIATA**, occhiata; **UNESTA**, onestà; **UFFRI(RE)**, offrire.

It sometimes falls.

NORE, onore; **PENEJONE**, opinione; **RAZZEJONE** (orationem).

It sometimes becomes A-. For examples v. **PRETONIC INITIAL A.**

PRETONIC INITIAL U.

Pretonic initial U usually remains.

UMORE.

It sometimes falls.

NEVERZALE (universalem); **NU** (unum).

It is sometimes changed to A-. For examples v. **PRETONIC INITIAL A.**

PRETONIC VOWELS NON-INITIAL.

Pretonic A non-initial remains.

CAPPIELLO; CAPILLO; GALANTE.

E.

Pretonic E non-initial remains.

DECISIONE; LENTÉZA; NEPÔTE.

In hiatus it becomes I.

CRIA(RE), creare; **CRianza**.

I.

Pretonic I non-initial generally remains.

FIDĀ(RE); FIDŪCLA; FINĒZA.

Classic Latin short I (Vulgar Latin E) gives E.

TENTŌRE; DEFFECORTA, difficoltà; LETECA(RE), litigare.

O.

Pretonic O non-initial generally becomes U.

CUNTA(RE); CUNSŪMO; CUNSIDERA(RE); FUNTANA.

U.

Pretonic U non-initial remains.

SUPINO; SUPERIORE; MURAGLIA.

POST-TONIC VOWELS.

Post-tonic non-final A, E, I tend to become E unless followed by R, under which condition the tendency is towards A.

SABBETO, SAPETO, sabato; ĒLECA; ŌRGHENO (in URGANĪSTA the A is pretonic); MMAGENE; ŪRDEMO, ultimo; JÓVENE; ĒLLARA.

Post-tonic non-final O and U become U.

URACULO; UOVULO; MIRACULO.

FINAL.

Final unaccented vowels become obscure, but not entirely confused.

A.

Final unaccented A remains, although much obscured in pronunciation.

FILMA; MĪA; EPISTULA.

E.

Final unaccented E remains, although much obscured.

FĪNE; UNZIŌNE.

I.

Final unaccented I is usually written E, although it is not to be confused with E coming from Latin E, as the E from Latin I produced a vowel change in the preceding tonic syllable (provided its vowel was E or O), while the E from Latin E causes no such development.

CHISTE (m. pl.)

SÚJE (m. pl.)

CHILLE (m. pl.)

TÚJE (m. pl.)

CHÊSTE (f. pl.)

SÓJE (f. pl.)

CHÊLLE (f. pl.)

TÓJE (f. pl.)

O.

Final unaccented O (generally representing Classic Latin short U) becomes obscured in sound and is usually pronounced as an indistinct U, although it is written as O. It produces a vowel change in the preceding tonic syllable (if the vowel of the tonic syllable was E or O).

PUORCO (m.)

PUOSTO (m.)

BUONO (m.)

UOVO (sing.)

PÒRCA (f.)

PÒSTA (f.)

BÒNA (f.)

ÒVA (pl.)

U.

Final unaccented U is confused with final unaccented O and produces the same results.

MANO; TIEMPO.

CONSONANTS.

Consonants tend to lose their force and are often confused. This confusion is generally of the voiced with the voiceless consonants. Metathesis is very common, especially that of R. L and R are frequently confused.

INITIAL.

In dealing with the initial consonants one has to consider the position of the word in the sentence. At the beginning of a phrase or after a polysyllable we usually find what may be

called the normal development. After many monosyllables however we notice a re-enforcement of the initial consonant which usually results in gemination. The most important of these words are È (est); E (illi, illae); A (ad); PE (per); CHE (quod, etc). O (illum) and A (illa) are followed by initial consonants showing normal development.

Note.) It will be seen that most of the cases of gemination are simple assimilation of the final sound of the monosyllable to the initial sound of the word following, but in E (illi, illae) it must be in compensation for the loss of a vowel quantity in the monosyllable.

B.

Initial B usually remains or is confused with V, which is generally bi-labial.

BAGNO; BALESTRA; BANCO; BANNERA, bandera; BANNO, bando; VALLÈNA, BALLÈNA; VALICIA, BALICIA; BUOSCO, VUOSCO; VALANZA, bilanza; VARCA, barca; VASO, bacio (basium).

When re-enforced it becomes BB.

PE BBAGNA(RE); E BBARCHE.

BR initial remains or is confused with VR, sometimes with PR.

BRILLO; BROCCA; VRACCIO, braccio; VRANCA, branca; VRECCIA, breccia; BRUNÈLLA, PRUNÈLLA.

When re-enforced it becomes BR, BBR.

E (B)BRACCE; E (B)BRANCHE.

BL initial becomes J (Y) in purely plebeian words.

JANCO; JASTEMMA(RE) (blasphemare).

When re-enforced we find (G)GHI.

E (G)GHIANCHE ROSE.

In patrician words we have BI. This may however be simply a borrowing from the Tuscan.

BIÀVA, biada; BIANCO.

Note.) We also find the re-enforced form **BBI** which corresponds to normal **BI**.

F.

F initial normally remains. It is sometimes confused with **V**. Often after **F** or **V** initial we have metathesis of an **R** originally final in the syllable or even belonging to the following syllable and the result is the initial combination **FR** or **VR**.

FONTE; **FINE**; **FERMATA**; **FESTA**; **VROCCA**, forca; **VRUCCATA**, forcata; **FRAVECA**, fabbrica; **FRAVAGLIERIA**, farfaglieria; **FRÉVA**, febbre.

When re-enforced we often have **FF**.

CHE FFINO.

FL initial presents three developments. In purely plebeian words it becomes **SCI**; in purely Neapolitan patrician words it becomes **FR**; in words influenced by, or borrowed from the Tuscan, it becomes **FI**.

Plebeian words: **SCIAMMA**, fiamma; **SCIANCO**, fianco; **SCIÒRE**, fiore; **SCIÙMMO**, fiume.

Patrician words: **FRAUTO**, flauto; **FRACCO**, fiato; **FRATO**, fiato; **FRÈMMA**, flemma.

Words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan: **FIANCO**, cf. **SCIANCO** above; **FIACCO**, cf. **FRACCO** above; **FIATO**, cf. **SCIATO**, **FRATO**; **FIOCCO**, cf. **SCIOCCO**.

When re-enforced we have **SCI**, **FFR**, **FFI**.

A SCIANCO, **AFFRANCO**, **A FFIANCO**.

FR initial remains. It is sometimes confused with **VR**.

FRATE; **VROCCA**, forca.

When it is re-enforced we may have **FFR**.

E FFRATE.

V.

V initial usually remains but is often confused with **B**, and occasionally with **P**. Metathesis of an **R** originally final in

the syllable or even belonging to the following syllable is frequent, the result being initial VR.

VASO, bacio; VARCA, barca; VASCIELLO; VEDÈ-(RE); BALÍCIA, VALÍCIA, valigia; VROCCA, forza; VRÍTO, vetro; VRÍOGNA, vergogna; VRÈCCIA, freccia.

When initial V is re-enforced the result is not noticeably different from the normal development, although occasionally we may hear BB.

Initial VR remains.

P.

Initial P remains, although weakened and often confused with B.

PUMATA; PÓNTE; PÓRCA; PÓRTA, BÓRTA.

When re-enforced it often becomes PP.

A PPÀRE; CHE PPÓRTA?

Initial PL presents three developments. In purely plebeian words it becomes CHI; in purely Neapolitan patrician words it becomes PR; in words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan it becomes PI.

Plebeian words: CHÍOVE(RE); CHIAGNE(RE); CHIÙ; CHIÀNO; CHIÀTTO.

Patrician words: PRATÈA; PRATÀNO; PRENARIO; PRÍCO, piego.

Words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan: PIACÈRE; PIANO; PIÀTTO.

As will be seen from the foregoing examples sometimes two forms are co-existent.

Note.) Especially interesting is the history of the Latin *plebem* which gives plebeian CHIEVE, "community", patrician PRÈBBA, "lower classes."

When initial PL is re-enforced we find CCHI, PPR, PPI.

A CCHIAGNE(RE); CHÈ PPRÈBBA; A PPIACÈRE.

Initial PR generally remains, although sometimes confused in pronunciation with BR. Metathesis of an R final in the

syllable or even belonging to the following syllable is possible, resulting in initial PR instead of simple P.

PRÊTA, pietra; PREMÔNE (pulmonem); PREVULA, pergola; PRUBBECA(RE), pubblicare.

When re-enforced it often becomes PPR.

E PPRÊTE; A PPRUBBECA(RE).

D.

Initial D remains or weakens into a spirant, or R.

DEVUZIONE; DÔJE, due; DIGNO; RICE(RE); RIEB-BETO, DIEBBETO; R'O, del.

When re-enforced it appears as D.

CHE DICITE?

DR initial occurs rarely. It is kept.

DRAÔNE, dragone; DRAPPARÎA; DRUGARÎA.

T.

T initial remains. There is often metathesis of an R final in the syllable or even belonging to the following syllable resulting in initial TR.

TIANO (tegamen); TICO (tecum); TERRA; TRIATO, teatro; TRÔVULO, torbido.

When re-enforced it appears as TT.

A TTÊ; A TTORNA(RE).

TR initial remains.

TRAFECA(RE); TRANSETO; TRÊNTA; TREZZA.

When re-enforced it sometimes appears as TTR.

E (T)TRÊZZE.

L.

L initial remains.

LABBRO; LACO; lago; LAGREMA; LÊGGE(RE); LIBBRO.

Re-enforced L initial becomes LL.

E (L)LAGREME; PE (L)LÊGGE(RE); A LLATO.

M.

M initial remains although often weakened.

MATTINO; MATTO; MESSA; METTE(RE); MISCHIO.

When re-enforced it often appears as MM.

A MMÊ; A MMETTE(RE).

MB becoming initial becomes MM. So also MV and NV.

MMASCIATA, ambasciata; MMEDIA(RE), invidiare; MMITA(RE), invitare.

MBL becoming initial becomes MBI, MBR.

MBIANCO, MBRANCO.

MBR becoming initial remains.

MBRIELLO; MBRIACA(RE).

MM, NM becoming initial remain as MM.

MMERITARSE; MMEDICA(RE) (inmedicare).

MP becoming initial remains.

MPAGLIA(RE); MPEDI(RE).

Note.) The development of MP into MB is to be found in the province of Naples. (MBAGLIA(RE); MBEDI(RE); etc.)

MPL becoming initial becomes NCHI or MPI, occasionally MPR.

NCHIANTA(RE); NCHIASTRO; MPIEGA(RE), MPREGA(RE).

Note.) The development of MPL into NGHI, MBR is to be found in the province of Naples. (NGHIANTA(RE); MBREGA(RE).)

MPR becoming initial remains.

MPRÊSA; MPRIESTETO.

Note.) The development into MBR is to be found in the province. (MBRÊSA; MBRIESTETO).

N.

N initial remains.

NASO; NATURA; NEMMICO; NEPOTE; NUOVO;
NU, uno.

When re-enforced it is usually doubled.

A NNOLA; A NNÙJE.

It disappears in UN, non.

NC becoming initial develops as Tuscan NC.

NCATENA(RE); NCE.

Note.) The development into NG is to be found in the province. (NGATENA(RE); NGE).

ND becoming initial remains if the word has been regarded as a compound with the prefix IN-, otherwise it becomes NN.

NDERIZZO; NDIAVULARSE; NDURA(RE); NDUVINO; NNÜSTRIA, industria; NNÜRDO (indultus); NNÖGLIA (inductilem).

NF becoming initial remains.

NFAME; NFETTO; NFASCIATA; NFELICE.

NFL becomes NFR or NFI.

NFRAGRANTE; NFIAMMA(RE), NFRAMMA(RE).

NFR becoming initial remains.

NFRACETA(RE); NFRASCA(RE); NFRATTO.

NG becoming initial remains as NG, the G taking the sound of Tuscan G before E and I and remaining a stop (as in Tuscan) before A, O, and U.

NGANNA(RE); NGEGNARSE.

NGR becoming initial remains.

NGRANITO; NGRASSA(RE); NGRATO.

NN becoming initial remains.

NNIESTO, onesto; NNANZE, innanzi; NNAMURATO.

NQU becoming initial remains.

NQUARTATO; NQUILINO.

Note.) In the province it may become NGU. (NGUAR-TATO; NGUILINO.

NS becoming initial becomes NTS (written NS or NZ).
NSINO; NSISTO; NZEGNA(RE); NZERRA(RE);
NZURDI(RE); NZOMMA; NZAPUNATA.

Note.) The pronunciation NDZ instead of NTS is also to be heard.

NT becoming initial remains.

NTACCA; NTACCA(RE); NTAGLIO; NTAVULA(RE).

Note.) The development of NT into ND is to be found in the province.

NTR becoming initial remains.

NTRÉPETO; NTRICO; NTRUNA(RE).

Note.) The development into NDR is also to be found in the province.

NV becoming initial becomes MM.

MMITA(RE), invitare; MMEDIA(RE), invidiare.

R.

R initial remains.

RADECA; RANCIO; RANCORE; RARO; REGOLA;
RIPA.

S and X.

S initial remains.

SANO; SANTO; SENAPO; SEMPE; SÈSTO; SOMMA;
SUPPRI(RE), supplire; SÚRDO; SÚRZO, sorso.

X becoming initial results in SCI.

SCIAQUA(RE), SCIACQUA(RE) (ex-aquare).

SB and XB becoming initial remain as SB, the S being slightly palatalized.

SBANÍ(RE); SBALANZO; SBATTE(RE); SBARCO.

SBR, XBR becoming initial remain as SBR. the S being slightly palatalized.

SBRAVIA(RE); SBRENNESIA(RE), fare brindisi; SBRUGLIA(RE).

Note.) The forms **SBREVUGNA(RE), SBRIUGNA(RE), SBRUEGNA(RE)** *svergognare*, show metathesis of an R final in the syllable.

SC and XC before A, O, and U remain as SC (English SHK), the S being somewhat palatalized.

SCALA; SCAMPÀ(RE); SCAPPA(RE); SCARPA.

SC and XC before E and I give SC (Eng. SH) as in Tuscan. **SCETA(RE) (excitare); SCÊSA; SCÊNA; SCÊMA.**

SCL and XCL becoming initial result in SCHI (Eng. SHKY), the S being somewhat palatalized.

SCHIAFO; SCHIARA(RE).

SCR and XCR becoming initial result in SCR (Eng. SHKR). **SCRIVE(RE); SCRÛPULO; SCRUTENA(RE).**

Note.) **SCREMMÀ**, *scherma*, shows metathesis.

SD and XD becoming initial remain as SD, in which the S may be slightly palatalized.

SDÊGNO; SDRAMMA; SDUGANA(RE).

SF and XF becoming initial remain as SF, in which the S may be somewhat palatalized.

SFACCIATÀ; SFALLÛTO; SFARZETTO; SFASCIO.

SFL and XFL becoming initial may remain as SFI, or SFR, in which combinations the S may be somewhat palatalized.

SFIANCA(RE), SFRANCA(RE); SFIATA(RE), SFRATA(RE).

Are these not perhaps cases of borrowings and patrician words and are not the true plebeian Neapolitan forms **SCIANCA(RE)** and **SCIATA(RE)**? It is impossible to determine whether the SCI in these cases comes from initial FL or XFL becoming initial.

SFR and XFR becoming initial give SFR. The S may be somewhat palatalized.

SFRANTO; SFRATO; SFRENA(RE).

SG and XG before A, O, and U give SG in which the S may be slightly palatalized.

**SGABÈLLO; SGARBA; SGATTO; SGOBBIA;
SGUMMA(RE); SGONFIA(RE).**

SG and XG before E and I. No examples recorded.

SGR and XGR becoming initial remain as SGR, in which the S may be somewhat palatalized.

SGRANA(RE); SGRASSA(RE); SGRAVA(RE).

SL and XL becoming initial remain as SL, in which the S may be somewhat palatalized.

SLABRA(RE); SLAVATO.

SM and XM becoming initial give SM, in which the S may be somewhat palatalized.

**SMAGLIA(RE); SMACCHIA(RE); SMANIA(RE);
SMÈRCIO.**

SP and XP becoming initial result in SP, the S being usually palatalized.

**SPUORCO; SPICA(RE); SPEDÌ(RE); SPALLA;
SPANNE(RE).**

SPL and XPL becoming initial give SCHI, SBR, or SPI (in all of which the S may be palatalized) according as the word is plebeian, patrician or borrowed.

**SCHIANA(RE), spianare; SCHIANO; SCHIANTA(RE);
SBRENNE(RE), splendere; SBRENNORE, splendore;
SPIECA(RE), spiegare.**

ST and XT becoming initial remain as ST, the S usually being palatalized.

**STACCA(RE); STAFFA; STAGNO; STA(RE);
STANCA(RE).**

STR and XTR becoming initial remain as STR, the S usually being palatalized.

STRACCIO; STRACCHINO; STRACUOTTO; STRATA.

SV and XV becoming initial remain as SB, in which the S may be slightly palatalized.

SBENA(RE), svenare; SBENI(RE), svenire; SBENTURA, sventura.

Note.) SGUIZZERO, svizzero, points to original SW or SGW.

C.

C initial before A, O, and U remains.

CAUDO, caldo; CATAVERE; CURTIELLO, coltello; CUOCO; CÒNTA; CONNULA, gondola; COGLIE(RE).

When re-enforced we often find CC.

A CCASA.

C initial before E and I develops as in Tuscan.

CITA, città; CIGLIO; CERA; CEPRIESSO.

CL initial gives CHI, CR, or CL according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or borrowed from the Latin (learned).

CHIAVA(RE); CHIÙDE(RE); CHIARO; CREMENZA; CRIMMA, clima; CLARINETTO; CLIENTE; CLIMMA.

Note.) It will be seen that sometimes two forms are co-existent.

When re-enforced CL becomes CCHI in plebeian words.
E CCHIARO.

CR initial remains.

CRAPA, capra, shows metathesis resulting in initial CR.

G.

G initial before A, O, and U generally remains, but is sometimes lost.

GAMMA, gamba; GOLA; GUDÉ(RE); GUMMA; (G)ALLINA; (G)AMMARO, gambero.

When re-enforced initial G is never lost. It may appear as G or GG.

A (G)GUDÉ(RE).

G initial before E and I develops into a weak spirant, usually written G, occasionally J.

GEMIELLO; GENERALE; GENERUSITA; GENTE, JENTE.

When re-enforced it is written as G or GG and is about equal in strength to the Tuscan G.

GL initial becomes GLI or J.

GLIANDRA; JACCIO, ghiaccio.

When re-enforced GL usually becomes GGHI.

È GGHIACCIO.

GN becoming initial develops as Tuscan GN (NY).

GNOPATE, signor padre; GNORE, signore.

GR initial usually remains, but sometimes becomes R.

GRÉCA; GRATO; GRATTA(RE); RANFA; RAGNONE.

The G is never lost when initial GR is re-enforced.

È GRANFE.

J and DI.

J and DI initial give J.

JUORNO; JUSTIZIA; JURA(RE); JOSTO; JOVO (jugum); JESSO; JETTO; JETTATURA.

When re-enforced they give GGI, GGHI.

A GGIURA(RE); A GGETTA(RE); È GGHIUORNO, È GGIUORNO.

QU.

QU initial remains before A; otherwise it becomes CH except in patrician or borrowed words.

CHISTO; CHILLO; QUATENO; QUASE; QUATRO; QUAGLIO; QUINTA; QUIBUS; QUESTURA.

When re-enforced it becomes CQU, CCH.

È CQUASE; È CCHISTO.

MEDIAL CONSONANTS.

B.

B intervocalic usually remains. B and V are, however, often confused, and sometimes B and P. B is frequently doubled, especially after initial A.

ABBELE; ABBELITA; ABBEVERA(RE); ABBULI(RE); ABETO; ABETATO; SAPETO, SABBETO.

BR intervocalic usually becomes BBR.

ABBRÈO; ABBREVIÀ(RE); ABBRÒNZO.

Note.) CALAVRÈSE, CALAVRESATA show VR. FRAVECA, fabbrica; FRÈVA, febbre; SFRAVECA(RE), sfabbricare, show metathesis of R, and the B remaining intervocalic has become confused with V.

BL intervocalic becomes BBR.

UBBRICA(RE), obbligare.

Note.) PRUBBECA(RE), pubblicare; PRÒBBECA show metathesis but also BB.

BI and BBI intervocalic become GGI.

AGGIO (habeo); ASSOGGETTA(RE); BENAGGLIA; MANAGGLIA; ARRAGGIATO.

Note.) ANNEGLIA(RE), annebiare; NÈGLIA, nebbia; NIGLIO are difficult to explain.

F.

F intervocalic remains.

ADDEFENNE (RE).

FF intervocalic remains.

AFFABELE; AFFACCIA(RE); AFFAMATO; AFFATICA(RE).

FL and FFL intervocalic give SCI, FFR, FFI, FFL, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, borrowed from the Tuscan, or borrowed from the Latin (learned).

ASCIÀ(RE) (adflare); ASCIATARSE; AFFREZIÒNE;

AFFRIGGE(RE); AFFIANCO; AFFIAMA(RE); AFFIATARSE; AFFLEZIONE; AFFLIGE(RE).

Note that sometimes two forms are co-existent.

FR intervocalic remains.

ADDEFRÍSCO; ADDEFRESCA(RE).

FFR intervocalic remains.

AFFRANCA(RE); AFFRAPA(RE); AFFRÓNTO.

V.

V intervocalic usually remains.

ADDEVENTA(RE); ADDUVINA(RE).

In **ARRUINA(RE)** it has disappeared, but this word may be a borrowing.

VV (DV) intervocalic usually becomes BB.

ABBIA(RE), avviare; ABBIENTO, advento; ABBIZIA(RE).

P.

P intervocalic usually remains, but is often confused in pronunciation with B.

ACCUPA(RE); ANTIPASTO.

ÈBBRECA, *epoca* is difficult to explain.

PP intervocalic usually remains.

CAPPA; CAPPIELLO; TAPPO.

PI, PPI (DPI) intervocalic may give GGI, CCI, BBI, or PPI.

ASSAGGIA(RE); SACCIO; SECCIA; ADDUOBPIO; DÓPIO.

PL intervocalic. Examples: **REPRÓBBECA** (not original PL); **ALLÈBBECA**, *replica*.

PPL (DPL) intervocalic gives CCHI, PPR, or PPI, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or influenced by the Tuscan.

ACCHIANÀ(RE); ACCOCCHIA(RE) (ad-copulare);
APPRACÀ(RE), applacare; APPRECA(RE) (adplicare);
APPIACÈRE.

PR intervocalic remains.

CUPRÌ(RE).

PT intervocalic becomes TT as in Tuscan.

ACCATTIVÀRSE, ADDUTTA(RE).

D.

D intervocalic may remain; or it may become a dental spirant, or R; or it may lose its voice and become a weak T; or it may become an indistinct sound designated by V; or it may disappear entirely. On the other hand it may become DD.

ACCADÉ(RE); ACCIDENTÀTO; ADDÈDECA; ARA-
PI(RE) (adaprire); MARÒNNA, madonna; ACCARÈMIA,
accademia; CATÀVERE; GRATETÙTENE; CÒMMETO,
commodo; BIAVA; CHIÓVO, chiodo; INCHIUVÀ(RE),
chiavare; PARAVISO; AUNÌ(RE); AORNATO; AD-
DÒRE; CRÈDDETO; GRATETÙDDENE.

Note 1). In CHIÓVO; INCHIUVÀ(RE), the D is not original since these words come from *clavum*, *inclavare*, but in order to explain the vowels we must suppose analogy of *cludere* and consequent forms *clodum*, *includare* as for the Tuscan.

Note 2). It will be noted that sometimes two forms are co-existent.

Note 3). TIEPULO (tepidum); PELAGRA (podagra) show L.

Note 4). PÈRN/CE (perdicem); ARPINO (Elpidium) show N.

DR may be confused with TR.

ALISANTRO; CUCCUTRILLO, croccodillo.

DD intervocalic usually remains.

ADDEFFÈNNE (RE); ADDÀTA, data; ADDEREZZA-
(RE); ADDÒ, dove.

DI intervocalic may give GGHI, J, GGI, DI, or DDI.
 AGGHIUDECA(RE); AGGHIÓGNE(RE); AGGHI-
 USTÀ(RE); APOJÀ(RE); CUMMEDIA; CUMMEDDLA.

It will be noted that sometimes two forms are co-existent.

The forms showing GGI are probably Tuscan. Those showing DI, DDI are probably patrician.

DM intervocalic becomes MM.
 AMMIRAGLIO; AMMUBIGLIA(RE).

DN intervocalic becomes NN.
 ANNUCÀ(RE); ANNÚDO; ANNUMERA(RE).

T.

T intervocalic remains, although sometimes doubled and sometimes weakened into an obscure sound designated by C.
 ACCIDENTATO; ABBETA(RE); SCÙTO; STRATÀ;
 TUTTO; VUMECA(RE).

TU intervocalic becomes TT. BATTE(RE).

TR intervocalic usually remains, though the R may be misplaced by metathesis or lost.

ANNETRI(RE); PRETA, pietra; TRIATO, teatro;
 PATE, PATRE, padre; MATEMA, mia madre.

TY intervocalic may become Z, ZZ, ZI, ZZI, SCI, or GI.
 ABBIZIÀ(RE); ACCAREZZA(RE); AGGRAZIA(RE);
 AMICIZIA; APPREZZA(RE); ACCURTÉZZA; ASSOLU-
 ZIONE; STASCIONATO, STAGIONATO.

Note.) In Naples Z is usually TS, but the pronunciation DZ is to be found in the outlying sections.

Sometimes two forms are co-existent.

L.

L intervocalic usually remains, but is sometimes confused with R.

ABBALÉRSE, valerse; ABBELE; ALEZIONE; UC-
 CHIARE, UCCHIALE, ACCHIARE.

LL intervocalic remains.

ABBALLO; **AFFULLARSE**; **ALLARIA(RE)**, *allargare*.

LB intervocalic interchanges with **RB**.

ALBA, **ARBA**; **ALBERO**, **ARBERO**, **ARBORE**.

LC intervocalic before **A**, **O**, and **U** usually becomes **RC**.

ARCUOVO; **SÚRCO**; **BARCÓNE**, **BALCÓNE**.

Note.) The pronunciation **RG** is to be heard in the province.

LC intervocalic before **E** and **I** may develop into **UC**, the **C** taking the sound of Roman **C** before **E** and **I**. If preceded by **O** or **U**, the **U** resulting from the **L** disappears.

FAUCE, **ADDUCÍ(RE)**; **DÓCE**.

Note.) **ADDURCÍ(RE)** showing **RC** is also found.

LD intervocalic may become **RD** or **UD**.

CAUDO; **SCARDINO**; **FARDA**, **FAUDA**.

LG intervocalic before **A**, **O**, and **U** remains or becomes **RG**.

CÓLGA, **CÓRG**:/.

LG intervocalic before **E** and **I** develops as in Tuscan.

CÓGLIE(RE).

LM intervocalic may become **mm**. **AMMÉNO**, *almeno*.

LNE intervocalic develops as in Tuscan. **BÁGNO**.

LP intervocalic may become **RP** or **UP**.

NCURPA(RE), *incolpare*; **ASSARPA(RE)**, *assalpare*.

LS intervocalic may become **RZ** or **UZ**.

ACCÈUZO, *eccelso*; **FAUZO**, **FARZO**; **BORZO**; **BÁRZEMO**.

Note.) After **U** we may find **Z** alone. **PÚZO**, *polso*.

LT intervocalic may become **UT** or **RD**.

AUTARE; **AUTÉZZA**; **RISÁRDO**; **ÚRDEMO**, *ultimo*.

LTI intervocalic may become **IZ** or **UZ**.

AIZA(RE), *alzare*; **AIZATÚRA**; **AUZO** (*altius*).

LTR intervocalic may give **T**, **UT**, or **UTR** (**UDR**).

ATO, **AUTO**, **AÚTRO**, *altro*.

LV intervocalic may become RV.

ASSORVE(RE), *assolvere*; BÈRVA; PORVA, *polvere*.

Note.) SPUVERA(RE), *spolverare*, shows V alone after U.

LY, LE, LI intervocalic develop as in Tuscan.

BATTAGLIA; AMMUBIGLIA(RE).

M.

M intervocalic remains, but is sometimes doubled.

ANEMA; ABBALLAMIENTO; ABBRAMMA; AM-MORE; ACCARÈMMIA, ACCARÈMIA, *accademia*.

MM, NM intervocalic give MM.

AMMANCA(RE).

MB intervocalic becomes MM.

GAMMA, *gamba*; AMMASCIA, *ambascia*.

MBI intervocalic becomes GN.

SCAGNO, *scambio*; CAGNA(RE), *cambiare*.

MP intervocalic usually remains.

ABBAMPA(RE), *avvampare*; ACCAMPA(RE).

Note.) The development into MB is also to be found in the province.

MPL intervocalic becomes NCHI, MPR, or MPI, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or influenced by the Tuscan.

NCHIUMMA(RE); CUMPRIMENTO; ASSEMBPIO.

Note 1.) The pronunciations NGHI, MBR, and MBI are also heard in the province.

Note 2.) No example of NCHI in the interior of an uncompounded word is recorded, and this may be a development which occurs only in compounds.

MPR intervocalic remains.

AMPRÈSA, *impresa*.

Note.) The pronunciation MBR is also heard in the province.

MN intervocalic becomes NN. DANNA(RE). DAM-MAGGIA(RE) is probably borrowed from the French.

N.

N intervocalic usually remains. It may be doubled.

ANEMA; BUONO; ANNORE, onore.

Note.) VELENO and CALONECO show L by dissimilation.

NC intervocalic before A, O, and U remains.

AMMALINCUNIRSE; AMMANCA(RE); BIANCO, JANCO.

NC intervocalic before E and I develops as in Tuscan or becomes NZ.

ABBENCE(RE), vincere; ANCINO; PANZA; FRANZA.

NCL has become GN in GHOSTRO, inchiostro.

ND intervocalic becomes NN.

ABBANNUNA(RE); ABBUNNANZA; ADDEFFENNE(RE); ADDIMANNA(RE), domandare; DICENNO, dicendo.

NF intervocalic has become MB in IMBIERNO which is co-existent with INFIERNO.

NG intervocalic before A, O, and U generally remains.

ALLUNGA(RE); LUNGO.

NG intervocalic before E and I usually becomes GN (as in many of the Tuscan dialects), sometimes NG as in Literary Tuscan.

AGGHIÖGNE(RE), aggiungere; ASTRIGNE(RE); CHIAGNE(RE), piangere; ANGÈLECO; ANGIULO.

Note.) The last two examples may be patrician or learned.

NS intervocalic may remain, but usually becomes NZ.

ACCUNSENTI(RE); ADDENZA(RE); CANZA(RE); PENZA(RE).

NT intervocalic usually remains.

ACCANTO; ACCIDENTATO; ABBASTANTE.

Note.) The pronunciation ND is also to be found in the province.

NTR may become NT. *DÍNTO*, dentro.

Note.) The pronunciation ND is also to be found in the province.

NTY, NTE, NTI intervocalic become NZ (NTS in the city, NDZ in part of the province).

ACCELÈNZA; AMINÈNZA; ASSENZIALE; ANZE, anzi.

NV intervocalic becomes MM.

ACCUMMENÍ(RE), convenire; AMMENTA(RE) inventare; BEMMENÚTO, benvenuto; MMÍDIA, invidia.

R.

R intervocalic remains.

CÚRA; PÉRA.

Note.) In the Infinitives of verbs the last syllable is usually dropped and we have PENZA; CURA; FINÍ; LÈGGE; etc.

RR intervocalic remains.

ACCORRE(RE); ACCURRÈNZA.

RB intervocalic remains.

AGGARBA(RE); BIRBÓNE; AMMURBA(RE).

Note.) AÚSCIULO, arbusciolo, shows its disappearance.

RC before A, O, and U remains.

ABBARCA(RE); FURCA(RE).

Note.) The pronunciation RG is to be heard in the province.

RC intervocalic before E and I develops as in Tuscan, or becomes RZ.

AMMARCIA(RE); MERCÈ, MERZÈ; PERZÒ.

RD intervocalic remains.

ABBUORDO; ACCUORDO; ACCURDA(RE).

RG intervocalic before A, O, and U may become RI or remain.

LARIO, LARGO; ALLARIA(RE), ALLARGA(RE).

Note.) **PRÈVULA**, pergola, shows metathesis of R and a regular development of intervocalic G.

RG before E and I develops as in Tuscan.

Note.) **PROJE(RE)**, porgere, shows metathesis of the R and a regular development of intervocalic G.

RM intervocalic remains.

ADDURMÌ(RE); **ALLARME**.

RN intervocalic remains.

ATÈRNO; **ATERNITÀ**.

RS intervocalic becomes RZ.

AMMURZA(RE); **ARZENALE**; **ARZÈNICO**; **ARZO**; **ARZURA**; **PERZIANA**.

RT intervocalic usually remains, but sometimes becomes RD.

ACCERTA(RE); **ACCUORTO**; **ACCURTEZZA**; **ARDICA**, ortica.

S.

S intervocalic remains, occasionally being doubled.

ABBUSA(RE); **ABBÙSO**; **ACCASA(RE)**; **ACCÙSO**; **AMMUS(S)À(RE)**.

SS intervocalic remains, often taking on a certain palatal quality and sometimes being written SCI.

ACCESSIVO; **CASCÈTTA**; **CASCLA**, cassa; **ABBASCIO**.

SC before A, O, and U remains, the S being somewhat palatalized.

ABBUŠCA(RE); **AFFUŠCA(RE)**; **MÀSCULO**; **FUOŠCO**.

SC before E and I develops as in Tuscan.

AMMASCIATA; **ACCUNÒSCERE**.

ST intervocalic remains, the S becoming somewhat palatalized.

ABBAŠTA(RE); **ABBIŠTA(RE)**, avvistare; **AC-CUŠTA(RE)**.

STR intervocalic often becomes ST (with a slightly palatalized S).

MASTO, maestro; INCHIASTO, impiastro; PULLASTO.

SY, SE, SI intervocalic become S.

VASO (basium); CAMISA, camicia; CERASO (Cerasum).

C.

C intervocalic before A, O, and U generally remains.

ADDUCA(RE), ADUCA(RE), educare; AFFATICA(RE); DICO.

Note.) In part of the province it is confused with G. DIGO.

C intervocalic before E and I develops as in Roman.

ABBECENA(RE), avvicinare; AFFECACE, efficace; AFFICIALE, ufficiale.

CC before A, O, and U remains.

BOCCA; ACCASIONE; ACCUPA(RE).

CC before E and I may become ZZ or CC(I).

AZZETTA(RE); AZZIETTO; LAZZO; ABBRACCIA(RE); ACCACCIA(RE); AFFACCIA(RE), AFFAZZA(RE).

CL intervocalic becomes CCHI.

UOCCHIO; UCCHIATA.

Note.) AGRISSE, eclissi, is probably patrician.

CCL intervocalic becomes CCHI or CCR, according as the word is plebeian or patrician.

ACCHIAP(P)A(RE); ACCRAMA(RE), acclamare.

Note.) ACCRAVACA(RE), accavalcare, is an example of metathesis resulting in CCR.

CR intervocalic may remain or become GR.

LACREMA, LAGREMA.

CT intervocalic becomes TT as in Tuscan.

TITTO, tetto; FATTO; AFFETTO.

CTY, CTE, CTI intervocalic become **ZZ, ZI** as in Tuscan.
ARRIZZA(RE); BENEDIZIONE.

G.

G intervocalic before **A, O, and U** may remain; or it may lose its voice and become a weak **C**; or it may become an indistinct sound designated by **V**; or it may lose its consonant value either partially or completely and become **J** or disappear.

BRIGANTE, BRICANTE, BRIANTE; STRÉCA; TECULA; STROLACO; LETECA(RE); SPAVO; JÚVO; SÚVERO; PAVA(RE), pagare; PREJA(RE); CHIAJA, piaga; ANNEJÁ(RE), annegare; NÌOZIO, negozio; RAÒSTA, aragosta; AÚSTO, agosto.

G intervocalic before **E and I** may become **J** or **GG** or remain.

PAGENA, PAGGENA; LÈGGE; LÈGGE(RE), LEJE(RE); FAJO, faggio.

GG intervocalic before **E and I** develops as in Tuscan.

AGGENTAGLIA; ALLOGGIA(RE).

GGL intervocalic becomes **GGHI**.

AGGHIAJÁ(RE), agghiacciare.

GN intervocalic becomes palatal as Tuscan **GN**.

ACCUMPAGNA(RE); ARREGNA(RE); ASSIGNA(RE).

GR intervocalic often becomes **CR**, but it may remain, or become **R**.

ACRO; SCENÒCRAFO; TELÈCRAFO; ANNEGRI(RE); ALLERAMENTE.

GGR intervocalic usually remains.

AGGRANÍ(RE); AGGRAVARSE; AGGRAZIA(RE).

J.

J intervocalic becomes **V** in **PÉVO** and disappears in **MAÓRE, maggiore.**

MAGGIORE is a borrowing from the Tuscan and is usually used to designate rank in the army.

FINAL CONSONANTS.

Final consonants had mostly disappeared in Vulgar Latin. However final S in accented syllables persisted and has left a trace in Neapolitan, appearing as JE.

NÙJE, noi (nos); **VÙJE**, voi (vos).

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